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ABSTRACT

The Magazine Division section of the proceedings contains the following seven papers: "Farm Magazine Advertisers Turn Up the Heat: An Analysis of Ethical Pressures Faced by Farm Magazine Writers" (Stephen A. Banning and James Evans); "Framing a War: Photographic Coverage of the Kosovo War in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report" (Nikolina Sajn, Kwangjun Heo and Sarah Merritt); "The Amazing Magazines of Hugo Gernsback" (Jonathan Thornton); "Hidden Under a Bushel: A Study of the Thriving World of Religious Magazines" (Ken Waters); "A Comparison of Magazine Summer Olympic Coverage by Gender and Race: A Content Analysis of 'Sports Illustrated'" (Jim Mack); "'Pearl Harbor of the Cold War': Coverage of Post-Sputnik Science Reforms in Four National Magazines" (Timothy E. Bajkiewicz); and "Lillian Ross: Pioneer of Literary Journalism" (James W. Tankard, Jr.). (RS)

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Magazine

Farm Magazine Advertisers Turn Up the Heat:

An Analysis of Ethical Pressures Faced by Farm Magazine Writers

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Farm Magazine Advertisers Turn Up the Heat:

An Analysis of Ethical Pressures Faced by Farm Magazine Writers

Much has been written about the fracturing of the media market, but little has been written as to how this has affected journalism ethics (Agee, Ault, & Emery, 1997; Alexander & Hanson, 1999; Alia, 1998; Baran, 1999; Gordon & Kittross, 1999; Hiebert, 1999; Jamieson & Campbell, 1992; Rotzoll & Haefner, 1996; Turow, 1999; Vivian, 1997). Thus, while studies have explored the ethical intricacies of news as a whole, little research has focused on how specialized publications are faring. Critics note that there are fewer competing media voices because of deregulation and that economic stresses may threaten the marketplace of ideas, but the discussion is anecdotal.

The fracturing of the media market makes assessing journalism ethics as a whole more difficult because of the many types of media. To properly assess the state of journalism ethics, the different segments of specialized publications need to be individually tested. Only after specialized publications are studied will researchers be able to form a picture of the current state of journalism ethics. Therefore, this study focuses on one facet of the media—farm magazines.

Farm magazine writers have had a long history of interest in journalism ethics, predating the earliest journalism codes of ethics at the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, Missouri Ruralist editor, and the first United States Secretary of Agriculture, Norman J. Colman was a strong proponent of journalism ethics as an outspoken member of the Missouri Press Association in the mid-nineteenth century (Banning, 1993).

An examination of threats to effective communication in agriculture also is important because the effect of agricultural journalism on the nation is exponential. Over 15% of agricultural producers account for more than 75% of agricultural products sold in the United States (1988 Agricultural Chart Book, 1988).

There is also a ripple effect. A breakdown in communication between agricultural journalists and producers affect not only the large segment of the population who work directly and indirectly in agriculture, but the consumer and the economy as well. Thus, communication between agricultural journalists and agricultural producers affects a fundamental link in the nation's food supply.

In recent years, however, farm magazine writers have come under increasing ethical pressure from advertisers. In the 1970s and 1980s agriculture faced the most severe economic pressures since the 1940s (Berry, 1984; Hillman, 1970; Vlasin, Libby and Shelton, 1975; Lyson 1986; Logsdon, 1982). The situation continued through the 1990s (Stevens, January, 1998; Stevens, November/December, 1998).

It is not surprising that these economic pressures have percolated to the agricultural media. These economic pressures on the press have taken a number of forms, including public relation product mentions (A first in the ag field, 1980; Are PR stories sugar coated?, 1981; Bryan, 1996; Farmers take a hard look, 1981; Logsdon, 1982), lack of information on resources not backed by a commercial entity (Blobaum, 1980; Burnett, 1985; King, 1984; Long, 1978), and threats to editorial independence (Berg, 1997; Johnson, 1989; Krebs, 1997). Some have seen the result as a crisis in credibility for the agricultural press (A first in the ag field, 1980; Blankenship, 1982; Hays, 1992; Johnson, 1989; Logsdon, 1992; Oliver & Paulson, 1995; Sommer & Pilisuk,

1982; Reisner, 1992; Tichenor, Donohue, & Olien, 1991; Walter, 1992; Voakes, 1997; Zahn, 1989).

This intense pressure on farm magazine writers was indicated in a study in 1983 (Reisner & Hays, 1988) and a more detailed follow up study in 1988 that appeared in Journalism Quarterly (Hays & Reisner, 1990). The 1983 study indicated that farm magazine writers were very concerned about what they saw as substantial pressure from advertisers to compromise ethical journalistic standards (Reisner & Hays, 1988) and the 1988 study seemed to confirm this (Hays & Reisner, 1990; Reisner & Hays, 1989). Other sources have contended that advertising provides an environment that engenders ethical dilemmas in agricultural journalism (Advertorials, 1996; Stevens, 1998; Stevens, 1999). Hays and Reisner (1990) note: "Farm magazines, like many other specialized publications, tend to have a somewhat narrow advertising base. The inherent danger of losing a single major advertiser that might be displeased by unfavorable editorial content necessarily weighs more heavily on the minds of farm magazine editors and publishers." (p. 941)

Some things have changed since the 1988 study, but journalism credibility continues to be a concern. In "Public Perceptions of Journalists' Ethical Motivations," Paul S. Voakes (1997) noted: "Perceptions of journalism ethics are important not only to a theoretical understanding of the communication process, but to the pragmatic concerns of the news business." (p. 34) Thus, the continued interest in journalism ethics may be due in part to a belief that a decline in journalistic credibility could result in undermining reader support and the bottom line.

The purpose of this study was to analyze the current perceptions of agricultural journalists regarding advertising pressures and compare these perceptions with those documented a decade ago. The research questions addressed in the 1988 study were: "Have agricultural journalists compromised their ethics in ways that may have eroded their credibility?" and "How do farm magazine writers and editors themselves feel about this issue?" This study looked at those research questions in light of a ten-year time difference to assess the current state of opinion and look for a possible shift of opinion. In this study we wanted to know whether farm magazine writers are more or less concerned about pressure from advertisers in 1998 than they were in 1988.

Method

The 1988 study provided a basis for analysis of ethical concerns among farm magazine writers. The 1988 study used the American Agricultural Editor's Association (AAEA) active membership list as a sampling frame. The instrument was developed in 1983 by University of Illinois journalism faculty and was described in an article in Journalism Quarterly (Mills, 1983). At that time, a high response rate (78%) was achieved from the 190 members polled. Questionnaire results in 1988 indicated that farm magazine writers faced a great deal of ethical pressure from advertisers.

The sample for the 1998 study also involved AAEA active members, which previous testing had shown to be representative of the United States' agricultural journalist population. The instrument contained the same items as the 1988 study.

Surveys were sent to all 218 active members in the AAEA, which resulted in an initial response of 99 completed and returned surveys. A follow up letter mailed three weeks after the original resulted in 52 more completed surveys, for a final yield of 151

responses and a response rate of 69%. Eighteen letters were returned as having had address changes with no forwarding address.

One challenge in this study was in determining whether to use the same instrument, a new instrument, or an altered instrument. One question in the 1988 instrument in particular seemed biased. However, it was decided to use the original instrument exactly as it had been used in the 1988 study in order to preserve the reliability of the instrument. This preservation of instrument reliability was important because one of the aims of the study was to compare the 1998 results with those from the 1988 study. Changing the instrument might have improved the accuracy of the instrument, but would have sacrificed reliability.

Results

Pressures from advertisers.

The first bank of questions was designed to measure writers' feelings regarding the degree of pressure they felt from advertisers. The 1988 study revealed a general feeling that writers felt heavy pressure from advertisers. In the 1998 study the feeling had increased. Table 1 shows, for example, that in 1988, 90% of the respondents agreed with the statement, "I am under no special obligation to please advertisers." Ten years later, in 1998, only 66% agreed.

There was an increase in the level of obligation that the writers feel to please advertisers. In regard to the statement, "I am under no special obligation to please advertisers," in 1988, 90% agreed, while in the 1998 study only 67% agreed, down 23% in one decade (See Table 1).

Results also indicated an increase in those who agreed with the statement, "It's hard to be pure and competitive in the marketplace today." In 1988, only 38% agreed with the statement, but in 1998, 46% agreed with it, up 8%.

There was also an increase in those who believed some agricultural publications were catering to advertisers. In 1988, only 64% agreed with the statement "Some media seem to bend over backwards to some commercial outfits to butter up sponsors and the like." In 1998, 80% agreed with the statement, up 16%.

Difficulties in objectivity also increased. In 1988, 47% agreed with the statement "Other agricultural publications' efforts to please advertisers make it more difficult for me to try to operate at arms length without any kind of vested interest." In 1998, 57% agreed with the statement, up 10%.

The number of writers who agreed with the statement, "Advertising people use other media's willingness to mention their products to put pressure on me." also increased. In 1988, only 28% agreed with the statement, while in 1998 it was up 10%, to 38%.

In 1988, 62% of the writers said they had received threats from advertisers to withdraw advertisements because they were unhappy with editorial matter, while in 1998, 39% said they had received such threats, down 23%. In 1988, 48% said they had had advertising withdrawn, while in 1998, 42% said they had had advertising withdrawn. However, advertising in 1988 appeared to be more aggressive in requesting editorial space. Forty percent of the respondents in 1998 said they had experienced direct demands for editorial copy as a tradeoff for advertising, compared with 20% in 1988.

Perceived harm to the profession.

The next bank of questions was designed to test the degree to which writers felt that advertising influence was harming the profession. While the trend in the previous bank of questions indicates that more writers feel pressure from advertisers than was evident 10 years ago, the trend in this bank of questions indicates that fewer writers see advertiser influence as a threat to the profession. Thus, it seems that while writers feel there is more pressure from advertisers, they are less concerned about it.

For instance, in 1988, 37% indicated that "attempts by advertisers to influence what stories appear" were "harming the profession." In 1998, only 28% felt "attempts by advertisers to influence what stories appear" were "harming the profession," down 9% (See Table 2).

Similarly, other sources of pressure on reporters were less likely to be seen as harming the profession in 1998 than in 1988. In 1988, 37% felt "pressure from publishers or editors to slant stories to please advertisers" was "harming the profession," while in 1998, only 25% felt the same way, down 12%. In 1988, 25% felt "pressure from publishers or editors to slant stories to fit the publications' point of view" was "harming the profession," while in 1998, only 13% felt the same way, down 12%. In 1988, 9% felt "pressure from politicians or other sources to slant stories" was "harming the profession," while in 1998, only 6% felt the same way, down 3%.

Gender-related difference.

Ninety-nine men (66%) and 51 women (34%) participated in the 1998 study. A Chi-Square goodness of fit test revealed a significant difference in relation to men and women in three questions.

1. Responses to the question "How effective do you believe calls pushing products or copy are?" showed women were significantly more likely than men to believe calls pushing products are somewhat effective ($X^2 = 6.335$, df = 2, $p < .05$). Only one person, a male, thought the calls were very effective.

2. In regard to the question "How often do you attend events sponsored by commercial companies?" women were significantly more likely than men to attend sponsored events ($X^2 = 7.909$, df = 2, $p < .05$). Despite this finding, women did not differ significantly in response to statements such as "I am under no special obligation to please advertisers."

3. In regard to the statement "[Is there] pressure from politicians or other sources to slant stories [?]" women were significantly more likely than men to believe pressure from politicians could be a problem in some cases or harm the profession ($X^2 = 9.783$, df = 2, $p < .01$).

Cross tabulations were run on all questions times age group categories consisting of ages 24-34, ages 35-54, and ages 54-70. These age categories were not in the original instrument but were created by recoding the age data into collapsed categories.

The purpose of running this set of cross tabulations and Chi-Square statistics was to examine the data for differences between generations. It was predicted that generational differences in opinions would be present.

Out of 30 items tested by age group, only 4 showed a significant difference. This, in itself, indicates that age group was not a general variable in ethical considerations among this cohort. The possibility that generational differences do not correlate to ethical differences of opinion is interesting.

1. The first item that showed a significant difference across age categories was the meals policy ($X^2 = 7.829$, df = 2, $p < .05$). This question dealt with the situation in which a corporation pays for a reporter's' meal. It is interesting to note that all respondents checked either the "[It is] harming the profession" or "[It is a] problem in some cases" categories. Not a single respondent checked the "[It is] not a problem" category.

The two younger age groups, ages 18-34 and 35-54, were significantly more likely than expected to believe that allowing a company to pay for meals is harming the profession. The age group 55-70 was less likely than expected to believe that having a company pay for meals is harming the profession.

It should be noted, however, that this does not mean that respondents in the 55-70-year-old-age-group gave blanket approval. Some did believe it was harming the profession, and those who did not believe it was harming the profession believed it was a problem in some cases.

2. The second item that showed a significant age-related difference involved threats by advertisers ($X^2 = 6.335$, df = 2, $p < .05$). This question dealt with whether respondents had received threats from advertisers and it utilized a dichotomous, yes/no, response option.

Both the age groups of 18-34 and 55-70 indicated a less than expected count pertaining to whether they had been threatened by advertisers. The age group of 35-54 showed a count that was higher than expected by chance. This suggests those in the 35-54 age group were more likely to have received threats from advertisers than their cohorts in the 18-34 and 55-70 age groups.

3. The third item that showed a significant age-related difference was a question about whether respondents thought the agricultural press was beholden to commercial interests ($X^2 = 15.293$, df= 4, $p < .05$). Both age groups of 35-54 and 55-70 were less likely than expected to disagree that the agricultural press was beholden to commercial interests. Those in the age group of 18-34 were more likely to disagree with the statement.

4. The fourth item that showed a significant age-related difference was a question that asked whether respondents thought outside publications caused pressure on their organization ($X^2 = 26.007$, df = 6, $p < .001$). Each of the three age groups produced different results. Both age groups 35-54 and 55-70 had bipolar responses in direct opposition to each other. The age group 35-54 showed less than expected counts in the "agree" and "disagree" categories, but a more than expected count in the "neutral category.

The age group 54-70 had higher than expected counts in the "agree" and "disagree" categories, but a less than expected count in the "neutral" category. The age group 18-34 showed less then expected counts in both the "neutral" and "disagree" categories and a more than expected count in the "agree" category.

Conclusion

Findings from the 1998 study, taken alone, indicate that there is widespread awareness of advertising influence on editorial matter and widespread concern about it among AAEA members. Those findings are similar to those of 10 years earlier, but they suggest a trend in which writers feel more pressure from advertisers now then they did 10 years ago.

Farm magazine writers may feel more pressure than they did 10 years ago for at least two reasons. The first is that advertisers may be applying less pressure. The second is that the writers may not be in a position where they feel the pressure. Specifically, the increase in the number of freelance writers in the ten years between studies may have affected the amount of control advertisers have over their writers. Perhaps a freelance writer is less likely to feel obligated to conform to the whims of an editor than would an employee whose entire livelihood is dependent on the editor.

But regardless of the fact that few farm magazine writers are worried about advertiser pressure, there is still a great feeling of concern among farm magazine writers. Future studies could be used to confirm whether this trend continues, or whether conditions return to their previous state. Future studies could also be used to research why farm magazine writers are changing their attitudes.

It seems that farm magazine writers feel great pressure, but may believe they are able to rise above it. In other words, there seems to be a feeling among farm magazine writers that they are able to resist the temptation to be biased, despite the feeling that the temptation is increasing.

In regard to the question of whether the situation is getting better or worse, farm magazine writers seem to believe external pressures from advertisers are increasing, but that they are not influenced by the pressure. Is this wishful thinking? Could there be insidious ethical influences that writers are not aware of? The increased editorial expectations of powerful advertisers may influence gate-keeping functions and result in important stories going unreported. This is an aspect of advertising influence one might expect, but that could not be measured by this instrument.

More research should be done to further define the nature of the trend of increasing influence of advertising on farm magazine writers. But there is another concern that also bears investigation. Are readers aware of the amount of advertising influence in farm magazines, and do they care? It is possible that the trend of increased advertiser pressure on farm magazine writers could result in a decrease in reader credibility towar farm magazines. Very little research has been done on reader perceptions of agricultural periodical credibility (Hepp & Olson, 1980; Farmers take a hard look, 1981; Sandage & Lancaster, 1986). However, now that journalists' opinions have been studied, it could be useful to assess readers' opinions on the credibility of farm magazines. Research on media credibility measurement and variables has set the groundwork for a study of this type (Austin & Dong, 1994; Gaziano & McGrath, 1985; Gaziano & McGrath, 1987;Gunther, 1986; Hammond, 1986; Liu & Standing, 1989; McLeod, Kosicki, Amor, Allen, Philps, 1986; McLeod, Pettey, Kosicki, Tanjong, 1985; Newhagen & Nass, 1989; Powers & Fico, 1994; Priester & Petty, 1995; Salwen, 1987; Slater & Rouner, 1996; West, 1994).

The difference in responses between the 1988 study and the 1998 study raises the question of why the change has occurred. It may be that advertising pressures have increased and that farm magazine writers felt more pressure from advertisers in 1998 than they did in 1988.

The make up of the farm magazine writers also appears to have changed in the decade between the two tests. Whereas freelance writers were relatively scarce at farm magazines in 1988, there has been an increase in the use of freelancers and an increase in

freelancer membership among the active members of the AAEA, the sample pool of both studies.

This may help explain why attitudes have shifted in the last decade among farm magazine writers, in that the overall attitude change may be more the result of the influx of freelancers, who may have different loyalties, than in an actual shifting of the attitudes of in-house staff farm magazine writers. Thus, the results of the 1998 study and the 1988 study indicate there is cause for concern in regard to advertising pressure on farm magazine writers.

Whether or not the readers of agricultural publications understand these pressures is a question that this study cannot answer. Future studies could look at whether readers of agricultural publications are concerned about credibility to the same extent as agricultural journalists.

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Table 1

AAEA Members' Perceptions of Degree of Problems--1998

Results from the 1988 study are presented in parentheses for comparison

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
Agricultural press is most controlled media in America.	8.8%(18%)	27.9%(27%)	63.3%(55%)
Agricultural press is completely beholden to agri-business industry.	12.8%(15%)	18.2%(14%)	68.9%(72%)
It's hard to pure and competitive in marketplace today.	45.9%(38%)	18.2%(15%)	35.8%(47%)
I am under no special obligation to please advertisers.	66.4%(90%)	22.6%(4%)	11%(6%)
Some media seem to bend over backwards to some commercial outfits to butter up sponsors and the like.	80.1%(64%)	15.2%(22%)	4%(14%)
Other agricultural publications' efforts to please advertisers make it more difficult for me to try to operate at arms length without any kind of vested interest.	57.3%(47%)	24%(26%)	18%(27%)
Advertising people use other media's willingness to mention their products to put pressure on me.	38%(28%)	32.7%(32%)	29.3%(40%)

Table 2

AAEA Members' Perceptions of Degree of Harm to the Profession--1998

Results from the 1988 study are presented in parentheses for comparison

	Harming profession	Problem in some cases	Not a problem
Attempts by advertisers to influence what stories appear	28%(37%)	56%(50%)	16%(13%)
Biased stories due to difficulty of getting both sides of the story	14%(25%)	62%(51%)	24%(24%)
Biased reporting due to reporters injecting own points of view	22.3%(24%)	54.7%(51%)	23%(25%)
Biased reporting due to inherent difficulties of being objective	10.7%(16%)	55.7%(48%)	33.6%(36%)
Biased reporting due to editors becoming too close to individuals or organizations they cover	22.1%(36%)	60.4%(47%)	17.4%(17%)
Biased reporting due to difficulty of getting information	7.3%(26%)	54.3%(48%)	38.4%(26%)
Pressures from publishers or editors to slant stories to please advertisers	25.3%(37%)	44%(32%)	30.7%(31%)
Pressure from publishers or editors to slant stories to fit publications' point of view	12.6%(25%)	45.7%(44%)	41.7%(31%)
Pressure from politicians or other sources to slant stories	6.4%(9%)	32.1%(27%)	38.4%(64%)

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Framing a War: Photographic Coverage of the Kosovo War in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report

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Framing a War: Photographic Coverage of the Kosovo War in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report

Abstract

This paper studies framing of the photographic coverage of the Kosovo War in three U.S. newsmagazines. The quantitative content analysis of the photographs showed that the coverage concentrated on the U.S. leaders, troops and arsenal. The photographs of civilians showed almost exclusively just the Albanian side. The magazines failed to inform the public about all aspects of the war, and the traditional "good vs. evil" paradigm applies in the coverage of this confrontation.

Framing a War: Photographic Coverage of the Kosovo War in Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report

Introduction

In 1998, tensions between the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo escalated into a civil war. By early 1999, thousands of Albanians fled from Kosovo. When Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic rejected the NATO's peacekeeping troops in March 1999, NATO started a bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. The intervention stopped after 11 weeks, when Milosevic accepted the proposal.

Undoubtedly, mass communication is an essential part of modern warfare. As Hiebert (1991) clearly presented, modern governments at war regard mass media as an important element in winning public support from their citizens. At least since the Persian Gulf War, when images of bombing were televised into every home as it happened, the need for governments to control war coverage has increased.

The direction of news coverage of a war is not decided only by active governmental public relation operations. Journalists in the countries at war often try to cover the war independently of the governments' control. In the process, journalists face a dilemma — how far should they go as journalists before running into their extra-professional roles as citizens (Lieves, 1992).

It is the frame that news media and journalists use both consciously and unconsciously that finally decides the direction of news coverage of the war. The American news media's frame in the Cold War era was characterized as a simple "good vs. evil" paradigm. The United States mass media's news coverage of international affairs at that

time reflected the dominant American culture that separated the world into two parts: friends and enemies.

Norris (1995) found that the themes and regional coverage of U.S. network news changed rapidly with the end of the Cold War. However, the traditional paradigm of "good vs. evil" has not changed. In the latest two wars in which the United States was engaged, the leaders of the opponent countries were portrayed as an evil both explicitly and implicitly by U.S. news media. For example, Iraqi leader Sadam Hussein was portrayed as a modern Hitler in U.S. network news (Iyengar and Simon, 1993).

This paper examines whether this old frame was applied in newsmagazine photo coverage of the recent war in Kosovo. Newsmagazines often are selected for frame studies, mainly because they "arguably summarize the dominant news and editorial emphases of the national media in the United States" (Entman, 1991: p. 8). Griffin and Lee (1995) said that newsmagazines provide a useful site for examining the way conflicts are pictured for U.S. audiences.

Photographs in newsmagazines are chosen, composed, and constructed devices for news stories, and they follow professional, aesthetic, and ideological norms (Barthes, 1977). Photographs not only provide a visual basis for textual content, but also function as a direct channel to convey the frame of the photojournalist or the news medium.

Literature Review

The news stories we see in the mass media are not the real world itself. The news is selected, constructed, and evaluated by journalists and their editors. Many scholars have contended that the news presented in the mass media is not a complete reflection of the everyday world itself. Researchers have suggested that the frame model adopted from

cognitive psychology and sociology provides one explanation for how an event becomes a news story with particular way of explaining what is going on in the world. Some early users of the concept of frame in news reporting explained the idea with analogies and metaphors. For example, Bateson (1972), to whom some researches attribute the concept of frame, said that a psychological frame is a class or set of messages where certain images are included and certain images are excluded, as they are in a picture frame.

Gitlin (1980) said that media are not normal mirrors that reflect the real world as it is; they are mirrors in a fun house. He also regarded media as mobile spotlights that choose some events to show to audiences and reject others. He defined media frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (p. 7). He said that media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their report.

Tankard and his coworkers (1991) suggested the frame of a house or other building as a metaphorical use of the term frame. They said, "A frame is the organizing structure upon which a house is built, just as a frame can be the organizing idea on which a story is built." Based on this metaphor, they define a frame as "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (p. 5). Gamson (1989) defined the news frame as a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue.

Similarly, Entman (1993: p. 52) said: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to

promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." He explained that frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions.

Some researchers regard framing as an extension of agenda setting theory. Their contention is that the salience of characteristics of media coverage have significant influence on the audience. For example, according to Ghanem (1997), framing is a form of structural bias in news reporting that results from the news selection process. However, the framing of news stories may have more subtle and powerful influences on audiences than any other type of bias in news stories, because it begins in the earliest stages of news reporting.

A number of studies have examined how frames are working in news coverage. Framing is especially significant and the effect of it is noticeable when a news medium covers foreign affairs, because most members of the audience cannot find alternative information channels for international events. Kuusisto (1998) says that in foreign news about distant countries the audience does not have a way to check whether these stories are true, and has to rely on the labels and narratives from the media.

Entman (1991), for example, analyzed the U.S. newsmagazines' coverage of two similar tragedies: a Korean Air Line plane that was shot down by a USSR fighter in 1983, and an Iran Air Flight plane that was shot down by a U.S. Navy ship in 1988. He found that the coverage of the incidents was quite different in spite of all the similarities of the two incidents. He argued that the U.S. news media framed the KAL case as an "attack" while the IRAN Flight case was framed as a "tragedy." The study implied that the U.S media had adopted a particular frame in reporting foreign events in the Cold War era.

Similarly, Wall (1997) studied U.S. newsmagazine coverage of ethnic conflict occurring in Bosnia and Rwanda in the early 1990s. She found that the two conflicts in Europe and Africa were portrayed quite differently because of their geographical circumstances. Wall's study suggested that even after the Cold War the U.S. media uses frames based on biases toward non-Western people.

Solomon (1992) investigated the coverage of El Salvador in three U.S. newsmagazines from September 1989 to January 1992 and argued that the news reporting reflected the "hegemonic frames" of the U.S. elite. Kanjurathinkal and Hickey (1992) analyzed the media's framing of the Persian Gulf war and contended that through careful framing the media transformed political and military events into mythical dramas to evoke deeply held beliefs in the masses and achieve political aims.

Iyengar and Simon were interested in the effect of the media's frame on the audience. They found that during the Persian Gulf crisis survey respondents reporting higher rates of exposure to television news expressed greater support for a military as opposed to a diplomatic response, as a result of media framing.

Research questions and hypotheses

This study addresses the following question: Was the photographic coverage in Newsweek, Time and U.S. News & World Report of NATO's intervention in Kosovo framed in a way that allowed U.S. citizens to make informed decisions? The question is based on the assumption that the mainstream media see themselves as "responsible for informing the public, thereby enabling it to properly assess policy and potentially influence decision making" (Herman, 1993).

Based on the studies of coverage of previous wars in which the United States was directly involved, we anticipated that the public was not given enough insight into what was happening. Previous research of war coverage showed that the U.S. media mainly followed the government's agenda in wartime (see Andersen 1989; Entman 1991; Iyengar and Simon, 1993; Herman, 1993; Brothers, 1997; Reese and Buckalew, 1995; and Kuusisto, 1998). We expected that in this case too, the magazines framed the war in a way that justified and rationalized NATO's participation in the war. Our assumption was that the framing was achieved by giving unequal coverage to the United States and Serbia, thus highlighting different aspects of the two sides. Five hypotheses were proposed:

1. Most of the pictures show arsenal and troops. Studies of Gulf War coverage found that news promoted the view that the only solution to the problem was a military intervention (see Reese and Buckalew, 1995; Kuusisto, 1998). It also drew attention away from the civilian casualties and destruction of civilian objects. We expected that the magazines would be following the same approach in the war in Kosovo.
2. The most dominant countries in the pictures were Serbia, Kosovo and the United States. Although Griffin and Lee (1995) found that about 2% of the Gulf War pictures showed Kuwaiti people and country, because of NATO's labeling of the war in Kosovo as a purely humanitarian war, we expected that the pictures of Kosovo and Kosovars would be as dominant as the pictures of the two countries in direct conflict.
3. There were more pictures of the U.S. and NATO arsenal and troops than Serbian arsenal and troops. This hypothesis reflects the assumption that U.S. newsmagazines expressed the interests of the United States and NATO, rather than the "enemy," and therefore focused on U.S. strengths.

4. There were more pictures of U.S. and NATO leaders than Serbian leaders. We expected that U.S. magazines focused on U.S. leaders to appeal to American audiences.
5. There were fewer pictures of Serbian civilians than of Kosovo civilians. This hypothesis was based on an assumption that the magazines framed Kosovo refugees as the most important victims in this war.

Methods

A quantitative content analysis of all photographs (N=366) about the war in Kosovo that were published in the three U.S. newsmagazines with the largest circulations: Newsweek, Time and US News & World Report was conducted. The analysis covered 11 issues of each magazine – ten issues published during the period of NATO's intervention in Yugoslavia and one additional week after signing of the treaty (i.e. from March 24 to June 18, 1999).

The unit of analysis was each photograph about the war in Kosovo in the three newsmagazines. The basis for constructing the coding categories was the analysis of the photographic coverage of the Gulf War by Griffin and Lee (1995).

The photographs were coded into thirteen categories: troops, political leaders, military leaders, direct combat, material destruction, journalists, civilians, prisoners of war, historic photographs, military casualties, civilian casualties and demonstrations. In addition, every photograph was coded for a country category, choices including the United States, NATO, Serbia, NATO and Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, others and unclear.

Eighteen photographs from the June 7 and June 14, 1999, issue of Time were coded independently by three trained coders. Inter-coder reliability was calculated at 93%.

Unclear definitions of coding categories were clarified before the coders proceeded to coding the rest of the sample.

Results

Dominant Categories

Out of the 13 coded categories, only the categories of arsenal, troops, political leaders, destruction, and civilians appeared in more than four percent of the photographs.

The hypothesis that pictures or arsenal and troops would dominate the coverage was not supported, as political leaders and civilians were pictured almost half the time. Although arsenal and troops dominated Gulf War coverage, and political leaders were shown in 9% of the photographs (Griffin and Lee, 1995), in the war in Kosovo, arsenal and troops appeared in about the same proportion of the pictures as political leaders (see Table 1). Furthermore, the military leaders were shown in only 2.5% of the photographs. In the war in Kosovo, apparently, politics played a larger role than warfare.

Table 1. Percentage of all categories of photographs of the war in Kosovo published in Time, Newsweek and U.S. News & World Report.

Category	N	%
political leaders	100	27.3
civilians	76	20.8
troops	60	16.4
material destruction	43	11.8
arsenal	38	10.4
civilian casualties	11	3.0
demonstrations	10	2.7
military leaders	9	2.5
historical photographs	9	2.5
prisoners of war	7	1.9
military casualties	2	0.6
direct combat	1	0.3
TOTAL	366	100.0

Most Dominant Countries

The most dominant countries shown in the photographs, as expected, were the United States, Serbia and Kosovo (see Table 2). This was also different from the Gulf War because, in that war, Kuwaiti pictures totaled only about 2%. The reason why U.S. newsmagazines showed many more pictures of Kosovo was probably partly because the human suffering in Kosovo offered more vivid pictures than in Kuwait. The other reason might have been that it was more difficult to frame NATO's intervention as justified in the civil war in Kosovo than the intervention in the Gulf War, where one country was invading the other. Therefore, more emphasis had to be put on the reason for the war (i.e. Kosovo).

Table 2. Country most prominently represented in newsmagazines' pictures of the Kosovo war.

Country	N	%
U.S.	112	30.6
Kosovo	102	27.9
Serbia	89	24.3
NATO	30	8.2
Sebia & NATO	4	1.1
Montenegro	1	0.3
others	14	3.8
unclear	14	3.8
total	366	100.0

Arsenal and troops

U.S. arsenal and troops were shown in 44.9% of arsenal-and-troops pictures, and together with pictures of NATO's arsenal and troops totaled 64.6%. In contrast, Serbian arsenal and troops were shown in 12.2% of the pictures (see Table 3). Peculiarly, there were more pictures of Kosovo arsenal and troops than of Serbian arsenal and troops. However, the Albanian soldiers were usually shown as disorganized and weak vigilantes. On the other hand, Serbian troops in the pictures were well equipped and appeared dangerous.

Table 3: Photographs of arsenal and troops divided by country

	Troops (N)	%	Arsenal (N)	%	Total (N)	%
US	25	41.7	19	50.0	44	44.9
NATO	9	15.0	10	26.3	19	19.4
Kosovo	15	25.0	3	7.9	18	18.4
Serbia	8	13.3	4	10.5	12	12.2
unclear	3	5.0	1	2.6	4	4.1
others	0	0.0	1	2.6	1	1.0
TOTAL	60	100.0	38	100.0	98	100.0

Political leaders

Fifty percent of the pictures of political leaders showed the political leaders of the United States. Combined with the NATO leaders, these pictures totaled 59%. That is almost twice as many as pictures of Serbian political leaders, who were shown in 31% of the photographs. This ratio is probably due to the fact that the three magazines are U.S. magazines, so they focus on the United States' politics and capacity to make good decisions. At the same time, the pictures of Milosevic showed him as an object of fear and hatred, while the U.S. leaders were shown deliberate and prudent.

Civilians

One-fifth (20.8%) of the photographs of the Kosovo war were of civilian suffering. This is different than expected. For example, Griffin and Lee found that only about 8% of pictures of the Gulf War showed civilians. In covering the war in Kosovo, however, attention given to victims on the different sides in the conflict was unequal. A majority (88.2%) of the pictures of civilians showed Kosovo civilians, while Serbian civilians were shown in only 6.6% of the photographs (five out of the 366 photographs). The magazines

concentrated on showing the suffering of Kosovo civilians but neglected the suffering of Serbian civilians. The reason for this might be that the civilians from Kosovo were the reason why NATO was involved in the war in the first place, while the suffering of Serbian civilians was one of the strongest arguments for questioning of NATO's role in the war.

The way the civilians on the two sides were portrayed was different, too. The Kosovars were portrayed in life-threatening situations, in need of food and shelter. In contrast, Serbian civilians were shown waiting in lines for more luxury goods, like cigarettes. The photographs never showed that Serbian civilians were waiting in lines for food as well.

Conclusions

A quantitative content analysis of the photographs from three U.S. newsmagazines, Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News & World Report, showed that the magazines did not maintain balance in reporting the war in Kosovo. They failed to inform the public about all aspects of the war, and the traditional "good vs. evil" paradigm was not overcome in the coverage of this confrontation.

The newsmagazines framed the war by making some aspects of the war salient, and at the same time, they obscured the others. The large number of photographs of Kosovar civilians portrayed the war as an act of humanity. At the same time, by neglecting the suffering of Serbian civilians, readers were encouraged not to think about Serbian civilians and the harm that NATO's intervention caused to them. The United States were shown as the savior helping the innocent, without showing the suffering intervention caused. This further helped the justification.

By showing a larger number of pictures of NATO's troops and arsenal, the American side was shown as stronger, more powerful and more important. This provided reassurance for American readers that NATO had the capacity to attain the goals set for the war. Photographs of NATO's thoughtful leaders offered a further guarantee that NATO was serious about the action.

This analysis suggests that the reasons of the U.S. involvement in the war were emphasized, while the reasons against the involvement were neglected. In this way, the war was framed as clear-cut and unambiguous. The image of the war that was presented to the readers showed Albanian refugees as the only victims in the war, Serbian leaders as bad guys, and the U.S. involvement in the war as justified. As a result, U.S. citizens were not provided with enough information to gain a thorough insight into the foreign policy of their country.

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The Amazing Magazines of Hugo Gernsback

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Best Undergraduate Student Research Paper
Magazine Division
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ABSTRACT

The Amazing Magazines of Hugo Gernsback

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In 1908, Hugo Gernsback foresaw the future of science fiction, helping to define it as an influential and popular genre through his magazine *Amazing Stories*. Throughout his life, Gernsback was a dreamer who would strongly influence the genre of science fiction magazines, from serializing "Ralph 124C41+" in *Modern Electrics*, to his peak of launching and editing the first all-science fiction magazine, to the post-*Amazing Stories* era of his life when he published several science fiction magazines.

This paper looks at a little known and often overlooked contributor to a magazine genre that has not been thoroughly studied. A review of the ComAbstracts database, which contains abstracts and articles from 46 journals, reveals no studies on Gernsback's contributions to the science fiction magazine genre. Only a handful of papers have focused on Gernsback's role in the creation of the term science fiction and his role in publishing science fiction stories. This paper focuses on the chronology of Gernsback's life and the importance of his magazines.

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The Amazing Magazines of Hugo Gernsback

Galileo looked up to the stars and saw the future of science. His observations about the planets were revolutionary scientific ideas for Italian society. He attempted to change the ways in which people thought about the universe through his telescope and his writings. Nearly 400 years later, Hugo Gernsback made a similar attempt. Through his stories and ideas about the future, he foresaw the future of science fiction, helping to define it as an influential and popular genre through his magazine *Amazing Stories*. Throughout his life, Gernsback was a dreamer who would strongly influence the genre of science fiction magazines, from serializing "Ralph 124C 41+" in *Modern Electrics*, to his peak of forming and editing the first all-science fiction magazine, to the post-*Amazing Stories* era of his life when he published several science fiction magazines.

This paper looks at a little known and often overlooked contributor to a magazine genre that has not been thoroughly studied. A review of the ComAbstracts database, which contains abstracts and articles from 46 journals, reveals no studies on Gernsback's contributions to the science fiction magazine genre.[1] Only a handful of papers have focused on Gernsback's role in the creation of the term science fiction and his role in publishing science fiction stories.[2] This paper focuses on the chronology of Gernsback's life and the importance of his magazines.

Background

Hugo Gernsback was born on August 16, 1884, in Luxemburg City, Luxemburg. His father bought him an electronics set that came with a wet battery and electric bell when he was 6 years old, and young Hugo was enraptured with technology and its

marvelous possibilities for the rest of his life. This introduction to electronics put in motion Gernsback's love of inventing and predicting the future. At the age of 20, Gernsback arrived in America in 1904 with little money and a strong desire to succeed. During this period of increased immigration to the United States, jobs were scarce and paid little. Gernsback decided to try to patent and sell his new invention of a mass-produced battery, similar to the Eveready batteries of today. The prospects of making his new invention, though, were not feasible on a large scale, so he became the head of research for a New York battery manufacturing company; he earned $30 a week. However, he lasted only three hours on this job and vowed "never again to work as an employee for anyone."[3]

Determined to use his inventions and ideas to make a living for himself, Gernsback started a mail order business offering radio supplies. In 1905 he manufactured the first home radio sets, and, with his special flair for the dramatic, strapped a new device called a Telimco Wireless to a man's back and demonstrated its new capabilities of both transmitting and receiving radio signals in the middle of New York.[4] The signals would either ring a bell or send a series of dots and dashes to a receiver located in another room. The range was not great, but the idea of transmitting and receiving to another person across a distance sent Gernsback's creative juices flowing. At a bargain price of $7.50, the device sold well in department stores to electrical enthusiasts.

Gernsback reached a wide audience of both old and young people who were interested in this new invention called the radio. Guglielmo Marconi had introduced wireless telegraphy and had reported on the America's Cup in 1894; however, radio was still considered a point-to-point medium. It was not until Lee de Forrest invented the

audion in 1906 and vacuum tubes in 1912 that radio broadcasting would become possible. Gernsback was an essential, though background, player to this process and was involved in the formation of the Wireless Association of America in 1910 with de Forrest as its president.

From *Modern Electrics* to *Science and Invention*

Gernsback wanted a vehicle to interact with an audience of like-minded inventors and to share his innovative discoveries in the electronic world. That vehicle was *Modern Electrics* magazine, which he launched in 1908 and which soon averaged a circulation of 100,000 copies. *Modern Electrics'* mission was to answer questions about radio and other electronic experiments while also showcasing Gernsback's first attempt at writing science fiction, a story called "Ralph 124C 41+." The story was serialized in 12 parts starting with the April 1911 issue.

Readers of *Modern Electrics* quickly became enamored of the quirky science fiction story. The story is sensational, with its purpose being to introduce the reader to many different technological inventions and predictions by means of the main character, Ralph 124C 41+ ("one to foresee for more than one"), who is considered one of the 10 human superminds of the world, hence the plus after his name. Ralph meets and courts an earth girl named Alice, who is saved from a disaster, kidnapped, accidentally killed, and then brought back to life. All of the action occurs with the help of technological innovations such as television, fluorescent lighting, radar, controlled lightning, plant growth hormones, and solar heat receptors, science fiction then, but reality now. Gernsback's magazine was designed to "educate the reader, and thereby to improve the future of the human race, both technologically and socially."[5] However, when he tried to

achieve this through his stories, his prose was dry. The technological innovations overshadowed any sort of plot and the dialogue was stilted and flat. The following excerpt is an example.

> "How did the trip impress you?"
> "Oh," she exclaimed eagerly, "it was delightful! So smooth and fast! I was so excited! Really, it was over too soon."
> As she spoke, Ralph watched with keen interest. Here was a girl who attracted him. Beneath the vivacity that so fascinated him he sensed the strength of her character, and the depth of her mind.

The installments lasted for a year and have been reprinted several times as a book.

Gernsback may not have been one of the most talented literary writers, but his strengths came from his technological predictions and his practice of scientifically explaining every invention. The reason for his peculiar style lies in his definition of science fiction as a concern with science technology and material things that are used in a story to vitalize the ideas of the story. For writing "Ralph 124C 41+," he should have secured a place in a science fiction writing hall of fame. However, many critics and science fiction fans then and now believe that he should have stuck to publishing since his writing style was so unrefined.

Modern Electrics (April 1908-February 1913) was retitled several times, with such names as *Electrical Experimenter* (May 1915-July 1920), and *Science and Invention* (August 1920-August 1931). While published under the title *Electrical Experimenter* the magazine was standardized to an 8 ½" x 11" format and an artist, Frank Paul, was hired to bring the science fiction stories vividly to life for American readers. Gernsback also wrote a piece of fiction titled "Baron Munchhausen's New Scientific Adventures" that lasted for 13 installments starting in the May 1915 issue of *Electrical Experimenter*. Similar to "Ralph 124C 41+," the story is merely a vehicle to describe Gernsback's

technological predictions and to speculate about life on Mars and the Moon.

With the final change in the title to *Science and Invention* in August 1920, Gernsback covered a wider variety of scientific topics. The magazine became the perfect companion for the amateur inventor in this emerging field of tinkering with technology at home. "Gernsback's greatest editorial achievement came with *Science and Invention*, which showed remarkable editorial flare in offering science and technology news, extrapolations of science, speculations, survey articles by well-known figures, explanations of stage magic, exposes of so-called supernatural phenomena, contests, curiosities of crafts, and much else, all well presented."[6]

Perhaps as an experiment, perhaps fulfilling his life-long intent, or perhaps at the suggestion of one of his fans, Hugo Gernsback decided to make the August 1923 issue of *Science and Invention* a "Scientific Fiction number." He printed four stories and put together a collage of six covers, representing science fiction or fantasy themes, as the cover for this special issue. Fan response was positive and they seemed to be ready for more. He sent out 25,000 circulars among his subscribers announcing his intent to publish an all "scientifiction" magazine, his word to describe his style of fiction with elements of predictive science woven into it. With his hopes high, Gernsback waited eagerly in anticipation for another positive response from his loyal readers. He waited and waited, but the lack of replies was heartbreaking. The idea of an all-science fiction magazine would be shelved for another two years.

Gernsback published other magazines, such as *Tid Bits*, a humor magazine, and *Your Body*, a physiological/health magazine. However, he wasn't as dedicated to those topics as he was to science fiction and technological change. He was waiting for the right

time to bring his new concept, blending science into fiction for a well-thought out and intellectual adventure, to the magazine reading audience. In March 1926, he boldly took that chance and *Amazing Stories* was brought to life.

Amazing Stories

Ever the highly dramatic individual and pioneer of the future, Gernsback premiered the first issue of *Amazing Stories* in April 1926 amid a hoopla of groundbreaking statements. In an editorial titled "Fiction versus Facts," Gernsback explained how new and different his magazine was, saying that it would be a type of fiction that has never been done before in America:

> We reject stories often on the ground that, in our opinion, the plot or action is not in keeping with science as we know it today. For instance, when we see a plot wherein the hero is turned into a tree, later on into a stone, and then again back into himself, we do not consider this science, but, rather, a fairy tale, and such stories have no place in *Amazing Stories*.[7]

The magazine was an extension of Gernsback's personality, with an emphasis on scientific truth in the stories and a demand for high literary quality from his writers. However, in the first issue there were only reprints of science fiction stories by those considered the masters of the genre: Jules Verne, H.G. Wells, and Edgar Allen Poe. Between April 1926 and July 1928, 18 serials would appear in the magazine, with only one not being a reprint.[8] Would this new magazine survive reprinting old stories, costing, at 25 cents, twice as much as the average magazine? The answer was yes, as *Amazing Stories* rapidly reached a circulation of 100,000 despite its high price per issue.[9]

Gernsback would contribute and help form the magazine science fiction genre by leading it away from "the traditions of scientific romance to more modern themes and

techniques."[10] Readers obviously found this appealing, compared to other magazines of the day. By solidifying and refining the nature of the genre, many would later honor him as the "Father of Modern Science Fiction."

The writing in other adventure magazines before *Amazing Stories* had been "puerile, prolix, awkward ... but some of it had a raw vigor and power that was exciting if somewhat routine and repetitious."[11] Science fiction fans were not a specific audience, but were divided among the adult adventure/fantasy fiction magazines available during the late 1910s and early 1920s, such as *New Story*, *The Popular Magazine*, *Weird Tales*, and *Argosy All-Story Weekly*. These magazines had achieved varied levels of success, with *Weird Tales* and its specialization in fantasy lasting for 60 years until 1954. This magazine, published by Farnsworth Wright, had high reader loyalty and specialized in horror and fantasy with elements of science fiction in its stories. *Weird Tales* had "the Gothic story as its base and a shiver was its greatest gift."[12]

Another competitor of Gernsback's magazine that started before *Amazing Stories* was *Argosy All-Story Weekly*. Frank Munsey initially had published two magazines, *Argosy* and *All-Story Weekly*, an adult adventure pulp magazine and an adult adventure magazine with more dynamic illustrations, respectively. However, Munsey was forced to combine them into one magazine titled *Argosy All-Story Weekly* in 1920 due to a decline in his audience. *Argosy All-Story Weekly*'s advantages were that it was only 10 cents and served its audience consistently with stories from such famous science fiction authors of the day such as Ray Cummings and Abe Merritt.

Gernsback believed he could publish fiction with scientific elements and no unbelievable events that readers were supposed to accept on blind faith. He also had to

create and define the science fiction audience because it had not already been established. He wanted to segment the fantasy/adventure fiction pulp magazine audience with his science fiction magazine, so even though he did no audience research, he plunged ahead with his brainchild. He instinctively made the right decisions and was immediately rewarded by the popularity of the new product.

Despite containing mostly reprinted stories, *Amazing Stories* was a success, selling its entire run of the first issue in 1926. A year later, Gernsback published a double-sized annual with a new Martian story by Edgar Rice Burroughs, which also sold out. In order to continue his success and to provide his fans with more science fiction material to read, Gernsback introduced *Amazing Stories Quarterly* in January 1928, which had 144 pages and cost 50 cents. He planned for the magazine's content to consist of two novels and several short stories. The quarterly magazine enjoyed success, giving many fans the stories and inspiration they wanted more and more of each month. Gernsback understood his audience: he had identified a niche—these readers wanted science fiction stories in whatever form that they could find.

For the content of *Amazing Stories*, Gernsback wanted no fantasy elements. As prospective writers found out, the stories also had to be able to be broken up into suitable chunks so they could be serialized across several issues. The topics of the stories could have any basis, and a large number of them focused on a machine, a voyage, or a meeting with strange beings.[13] Modern themes such as the exploration of utopias and "backward" worlds, as well as technological adventures reminiscent of "Ralph 124C 41+," were some of Gernsback's favorites. He wanted readers to be instructed about scientific possibilities through the science fiction in his magazine and to learn that technology could and would

be a part of everyday life.

One of the most fascinating and unusual phenomenons of *Amazing Stories* occurred in the back of the magazine. Gernsback published letters that fans wrote both to Gernsback and to their fellow readers where they commented and raised questions on previous issue's stories. A letters column was not a new thing in magazines, but "Discussions" in *Amazing Stories* provided the perfect forum for like-minded science fiction fans to meet each other, discuss stories, and feel like part of a community of readers who are joined together as "fan"atics of this genre.[14] Gernsback did something unusual, however, compared to other letters columns of the day by printing the full addresses of the fans to promote this community. It was not an exclusive community, but they all shared something special which led to close friendships and the first science fiction clubs. Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster met through "Discussions," formed a "fanzine," a popular form of magazine at the time made by and for fans of science fiction, called *Cosmic Stories*. They forever affected American culture with their creation, Superman.

Many fan clubs consisted of boys who met each other through the letters column and, realizing that they lived in the same town, met once a week to discuss the stories they had read and to make up their own. Across the country, fans felt like they were a part of a community that was brought about through Gernsback's tireless efforts of publishing magazines. In an attempt to unite the clubs under one umbrella and make each of them individual chapters, Gernsback suggested a super club called the Science Fiction League.[15] However, fan reaction was not enthusiastic and he abandoned the idea. The fans appreciated the science fiction he was bringing them on a monthly basis, but his

direct intervention was not needed.

The "Discussions" column helped *Amazing Stories* grow and remain popular, as readers thought an issue incomplete if they did not read fellow fans' letters. With such popularity, Gernsback was happily riding the wave of his success in publishing science fiction. He also owned other successful businesses from 1926 to 1929, such as WRNY radio, humor magazines, comics, books, and his health magazine called *Your Body*. However, Gernsback was about to have a rude awakening.

A telephone call from a *New York Times* reporter awoke him one morning in 1929, asking him for his reaction to the bankruptcy proceedings being filed against him. Gernsback was stunned. However, "according to the law of 1929, if three or more creditors pressed the matter, a company or an individual could be forced into bankruptcy, regardless of whether they were solvent or not, merely because they had been late in payments."[16] Gernsback was infuriated and incredulous; he may have been late in some payments, but he certainly was not losing money nor near bankruptcy. What could have happened? Gernsback figured out that the culprit was Bernarr MacFadden, a magazine competitor.

MacFadden published three magazines: *Physical Culture*, a sensationalistic magazine about men's physical, sexual, and psychological problems; *Ghost Stories*, a superstitious and tabloid-style magazine; and *True Strange Tales*, a fantasy/science fiction magazine with forged photos of the "unknown." All three magazines competed with Gernsback's *Your Body* and with *Amazing Stories*. The three creditors who questioned the solvency of Gernsback's company, Experimenter Publishing Company, were also suppliers for MacFadden, thus making the case for a conspiracy stronger.

Perhaps MacFadden had laid out an ultimatum that he would switch suppliers if they didn't cooperate or had just encouraged their help to put Gernsback out of business. Upon hearing Gernsback's pleas and demands for an investigation, authorities said that there was nothing they could do to help him. The creditors who provided supplies to Gernsback's company received $1.08 for every dollar they had been owed in what *The New York Times* referred to as a "bankruptcy deluxe."[17] Gernsback lost *Amazing Stories* through bankruptcy proceedings in April 1929.

Air Wonder Stories and *Science Wonder Stories*

Gernsback would never again have the same level of success he had achieved with *Amazing Stories*, but science fiction fans had become loyal to him and enjoyed his style of fiction. "When he announced his intention to form a new publishing company [Stellar Publishing Company], 8,000 subscription orders cascaded in."[18] Gernsback's energetic and dynamic personality would not let him be broken or even to lose a step. Two months later, in June 1929, he returned with two new magazines, *Air Wonder Stories* and *Science Wonder Stories*. Gernsback still held to his mantra of scientific truth in his fiction and hired three professors of aeronautics and an Air Corps Reserve major as his consulting editors on *Air Wonder Stories*.[19] He was confident of his success and in his editorial statement for *Air Wonder Stories* said, "Having been closely identified, as a publisher, with scientific publications of a popular nature for over 25 years, I may be pardoned in believing that I will succeed in making this new magazine the greatest and most popular air fiction magazine in its field."[20] However, complete success was not in the cards for Gernsback. Increased competition would cause a splintering of the science fiction audience. The Gernsback era of domination in science fiction magazines was

coming to a close.

Just as today, any niche covered by a magazine will have both indirect and direct competition, and Gernsback's science fiction magazines were no different. He first segmented the adult fantasy/science fiction audience and when other publishers believed that they could besiege his monopoly, they took the opportunity. *Astounding Stories of Super Science*, published by Clayton Magazines, jumped into the fray in 1930 with stories having weird-scientific and action-fantasy themes, but by issue number four, they had settled into the format of pure science fiction stories.[21] *Astounding Stories of Super Science* achieved greater success under an upstart editor named F. Orlin Tremaine who stressed a thought variant-type story, which were stories on topics and issues never explored before. Tremaine pumped new life into the magazine, which had been having financial trouble, and managed to gain ground on *Amazing Stories*, now no longer under Gernsback's leadership. Fans loved the new and provocative stories in *Astounding Stories of Super Science* and Gernsback found himself with serious competition from his old magazine, *Amazing Stories*, as well as from *Astounding Stories of Super Science*. *Amazing Stories* was initially run by Irving Trust Company after Gernsback's bankruptcy and then by Teck Publications, a property of MacFadden's.

In June 1930, Gernsback retrenched by combining *Air Wonder Stories* and *Science Wonder Stories* into one magazine titled *Wonder Stories*. Adding to his economic woes, Gernsback had problems with distribution. Distributors would tear the covers off the magazines and then sell them to customers as "damaged." However, distributors also received money back from publishers for returning the covers as an indication of unsold copies. Gernsback was losing fans because of the segmented

market, and the corrupt distribution system was draining his pocketbook. In a bold attempt to stay solvent, Gernsback turned to his readers for assistance.

His plan was for subscription sales in reverse. A special printed coupon was supplied in an issue. Readers were asked to clip it out and mail it to Gernsback. They would then receive the next issue of *Wonder Stories* with a bill for 15 cents, plus a prepaid return envelope. Gernsback hoped that readers would bypass the newsstand and enter a one-on-one relationship with his publishing company without the commitment of a long-term subscription. He received only 2,000 replies and fan apathy drove him to sell *Wonder Stories* to Standard Magazines Publishing, which also published *The Phantom Detective* at the time.

Gernsback Leaves Science Fiction Magazine Field

By January 1936, the father of modern science fiction had left the science fiction magazine field. His contributions, though, were invaluable and every year since 1953, the annual World Science Fiction Convention presents a "Hugo Award" to the writer who has achieved high literary excellence.

Amazing Stories survived in one form or another, off and on, until the end of 1994 when it was sold by TSR Hobbies, Inc. to Wizards of the Coast, a role-playing game company.[22] Wizards of the Coast began distributing the magazine in the summer of 1998 with a quarterly publication schedule. Their current editorial statement asserts that they plan to "march boldly into the 21st century by continuing the tradition of publishing the finest science fiction short stories and breaking new ground by publishing short fiction based on the settings and characters in science fiction film and television."[23] Whether there is still a place for *Amazing Stories* in the market is unknown. There are still many

science-science, weird-science, and fantasy-science magazines on the market today covering this niche (see Appendix A).

Gernsback published other humor and health magazines, such as *Sexology* and *Your Body*. He dabbled in inventions and held 80 patents, for such inventions as the hypnobioscope (for sleep learning) and the osophone (an early bone-conductor hearing aid).[24] His imagination was always at work thinking that what may be science fiction today, may be cold fact tomorrow. On August 20, 1967, Gernsback died in New York City leaving the world a more fantastic place and forever inspiring many authors, such as Arthur C. Clarke, who dubbed him "the one who thought of everything."[25]

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[1] ComAbstracts database: www.cios.org/www/absrch.htm. The journals covered include: *Argumentation and Advocacy, Asian Journal of Communication, Australian Journal of Communication, Canadian Journal of Communication, Communicatie, Communication Education, Communication Law and Policy, Communication Monographs, Communication Quarterly, Communication Reports, Communication Research, Communication Studies, Communication Theory, Communication Yearbook, Convergence, Critical Studies in Mass Communication, Discourse Processes, Discourse and Society, Electronic Journal of Communication, European Journal of Communication, Health Communication, Howard Journal of Communication, Human Communication Research, Information Communication & Society, International Journal of Listening, Journal of Applied Communication Research, Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Journal of Communication, Journal of Mass Media Ethics, Journal of Media Economics, Journal of Public Relations Research, Journal of Social & Personal Relationships, Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, Management Communication Quarterly, Mass Communication & Society, Media Studies Journal, New Media and Society, Political Communication, Public Opinion Quarterly, Public Relations Review, Quarterly Journal of Speech, Research on Language and Social Interaction, Southern Communication Journal, Western Journal of Communication, Women's Studies in Communication*, and *Written Communication*. The following journals also were searched for articles about Gernsback and his magazines: *American Journalism, American Periodicals*, and *Journalism History*.

[2] Papers found on Hugo Gernsback: G. Westfahl, "Evolution of Modern Science-Fiction--The Textual history of Hugo Gernsback, 'Ralph 124C 41+'," *Science Fiction Studies*, March 1996; G. Westfahl, "Hugo Gernsback and His Impact on Modern Science-Fiction," *Science-Fiction Studies*, July 1994; G. Westfahl, "This Unique Document--Hugo Gernsback, 'Ralph 124C 41+,' and the Genres of Science-Fiction," *Extrapolation*, Summer 1994; G. Westfahl, "The Jules Verne, H.G. Wells, and Edgar Allan Poe Type of Story--Hugo Gernsback History of Science-Fiction, *Science-Fiction Studies*, November 1992.

[3] Mark Siegel, *Hugo Gernsback, Father of Modern Science Fiction* (San Bernardino, CA: Oxford University Press, 1988), 18.

[4] David Kyle, *A Pictorial History of Science Fiction* (New York: Hamlyn, 1976), 46.

[5] Siegel, 35.

[6] Everett Bleiler, *Science Fiction: The Gernsback Years* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1998), 144.

[7] Tony Goodstone, *The Pulps: Fifty Years of American Pop Culture* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1970), 201.

[8] Michael Ashley, ed., *History of the Science Fiction Magazine--Volume 1* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1974), 22.

[9] Goodstone, 201.
[10] Neil Barron, *Anatomy of Wonder: Science Fiction* (New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1976), 79.
[11] Barron, 83.
[12] Kyle, 69.
[13] Barron, 89.
[14] Robert Scholes and Eric Rabkin, *Science Fiction: History, Science, Vision* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 39.
[15] Scholes and Rabkin, 40.
[16] Kyle, 65.
[17] Kyle, 65.
[18] Daniel Stashower, "A Dreamer Who Made Us Fall in Love With the Future," *Smithsonian*, August 1990, 50.
[19] Peter Nicholls and John Clute, *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*. Accessed November 1, 1998. http://ebbs.English.vt.edu/vtsf/glosses/airwonder.gloss.html.
[20] Len Hatfield, *Virginia Tech Online Speculative Fiction Project*. Accessed December 7, 1998. http://ebbs.english.vt.edu/vtsf/aw-1.1/aw.v1.n1.toc.html.
[21] Goodstone, 201.
[22] Wizards of the Coast, "The Amazing Story: Part 7: The Eighties. Son of Fantastic." Accessed March 16, 2000.
[23] Wizards of the Coast, "What is Amazing Stories?" Accessed March 15, 2000. http://www.wizards.com/amazing/new.asp
[24] "Hugo Gernsback is Dead at 83; Author, Publisher and Inventor." *New York Times*. August 20, 1967, A88.
[25] Stashower, 50.

Appendix A

As of 1999, there are 13 magazines that publish science fiction. They are:

- *Absolute Magnitude, Science Fiction Adventures*
- *Amazing Stories*
- *Analog Science Fiction & Fact*
- *Asimov's Science Fiction*
- *The Crystal Ball*
- *Interzone, Science Fiction and Fantasy*
- *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction*
- *On Spec*
- *Outside, Speculative and Dark Fiction Magazine*
- *The Silver Web, A Magazine of the Surreal*
- *Space and Time*
- *Starship Earth*
- *Wicked Mystic Magazine*

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Hidden Under a Bushel:
A Study of the Thriving World of Religious Magazines

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Abstract

Religious publications have a long and varied history in the United States. The publications are among the first magazines to appear in the U.S. and their content helped shape the early Republic's literacy, morals and political events. But during the past 150 years, their influence has lessened. Although some 3,000 religious publications exist today, most report small circulation levels. Critics contend that many religious magazines are more focused on doctrinal battles than presenting news and information for the general public. To further study this invisible, but vibrant segment of magazine publishing, the researcher surveyed editors of publications holding membership in either the Associated Church Press or the Evangelical Press Association. The survey is used to construct a picture of the editorial foci, audiences, funding models and future opportunities awaiting the Protestant press. This is the first step toward integrating the religious press into existing theories of specialty magazine publishing. The paper concludes with suggestions for further research.

Hidden Under a Bushel:
A Study of the Thriving World of Religious Magazines

"Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed? And not to be set on a candlestick?" (Mark 4:21; King James Version, Bible)

The first specialized magazines in America were religious. Today thousands of religious publications continue to arrive in the mailboxes of American readers. Scholars note that since the 18th century, "popular periodicals have been a major means of promoting personal religious commitment and of nurturing individual piety while advancing causes of denominations, new religious movements, and agencies calling for social reform" (Fackler & Lippy, 1995, p. xvii). One religious movement in the United States, the Disciples of Christ (which now includes millions of believers in the Disciples, Independent Christian and churches of Christ denominations), began largely through the writings of periodical editors espousing their beliefs about church organization, worship and membership. As we enter the 21st century, there are more than 3000 religious publications (Fackler & Lippy, 1995, p. xi). Two press associations for Protestant magazines boast a membership of some 400 publications and claim at least 47 million annual readers (EPA Handbook, 1999; ACP Directory, 1998).

Despite the seemingly ubiquitous presence of religious publications, most have little impact on mainstream American culture or society. Perhaps because of that, there has not been a groundswell of academic research in the area of specialized religious magazines. In his landmark book Magazine Made America, David Abrahamson (1996, p. 25) noted that the rise of specialized publications in the 1960s particularly benefited "established magazine genres" such as religious periodicals. Abrahamson recognized that religious publications existed before the boom in specialty publishing, and benefited from it, but he rarely mentions religious periodicals again. Fackler and Lippy (1995) did edit a collection of historical essays on religious publications, but the volume is meant as an encyclopedia more than a collection of research which points to theory building. Others have dealt with various aspects of religious journalism's history and practices

(Moore, 1968; Reed, 1993; Nord, 1984; Olasky, 1990, 1996). Of these, fewer still have focused on the contemporary religious publishing situation, and most of those have been essays rather than research (Marty, 1963, Austin, 1990; Olasky, 1996).

Despite their seeming anonymity, religious editors regularly encourage their readers to civic action and humanitarian charity, often with noticeable results. WORLD magazine recently published a series of negative stories about a proposed gender-neutral Bible translation planned by a major Bible society and Zondervan Publishing. Zondervan is a subsidiary of Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. With its blazing headline "Femme Fatale" (S. Olasky, 19 April 1997), WORLD rallied conservative Christians to flood Zondervan with mail and phone calls, and threats of economic boycotts. Eventually, the Bible publisher and a respected translation team were forced to abandon plans for the new translation. WORLD'S negative analysis of Sen. John McCain's presidential bid (Jones, 2000) recently caught the attention of syndicated columnist William Safire, who accused the independent not-for-profit magazine of "religio-political sleaze in action" (2000, B-11). Safire took exception to the fact that WORLD'S editor, University of Texas journalism professor Marvin Olasky, had served as an adviser to Gov. George W. Bush, Jr. and disclosure of that fact was absent from the magazine's story. Besides WORLD denominational and nondenominational publications such as Christian Century and Christianity Today provide Christian news and occasional commentaries on world events as seen from a Protestant worldview. Social action publications such as Bread for the World and Sojourners regularly encourage Christians to involvement in showing Christian compassion. World Vision magazine reaches hundreds of thousands of people with a message that compassion for the world's poor can make a difference, and the magazine has helped its parent organization raise millions of dollars in assistance for relief and development projects over the past 50 years. Focus on the Family magazine reinforces the conservative family values and political orientation of its namesake radio broadcast, one of the largest in the nation. Still, most religious magazines follow the lead of the Upper Room, a Methodist publication with a 2.25 million worldwide circulation. The Upper Room is a daily devotional guide encouraging people to live a more moral life. Its focus on individual piety is a hallmark of many religious publications.

This paper attempts to shed more light on this vibrant but under-studied area of specialty magazine publishing. Historical analysis and a review of existing research are used to suggest research questions that are probed through a survey targeted to editors whose publications are members of the Associated Church Press and the Evangelical Press Association. The choice of Protestantism arises from the rich tradition of this religious expression within American history, the diversity of its publications, and the researcher's experience as a writer and editor of Protestant publications. Hopefully, this survey represents another step in the ongoing appraisal of all religious publications. While largely descriptive, the results identify areas for meaningful future research that should increase our understanding of religious periodicals, contribute to our continued research in the area of specialty magazines, and help us generate better theories about magazine publishing in general.

Historical Review

The vibrancy of today's religious magazines can be traced back to historical and cultural forces that shaped the early American experience. The freedom to worship without government intervention brought a variety of religious pilgrims to the American Colonies. Here these believers were free to worship, and evangelize using sermons, tracts and periodicals to spread their message (Marsden, 1990; Moore, 1968; Nord, 1984). Early magazine publishers were printers or ordained minister-entrepreneurs with access to printing facilities. Some published with blessings from a denominational authority; others were independent of ecclesiastical control, rallying readers solely through the strength of their editorial content. Historian Nathan Hatch (1989) refers to this phenomenon as the "democratization of American Christianity" because the words and ideas of ministers and editors were available to everyone, and early Americans chose for themselves--in this marketplace of ideas--whether to accept or reject these religious messages. The most forceful and rhetorically sophisticated editors survived; those who were not as persuasive saw their periodicals collapse.

Information and Edification

Early religious periodicals focused on inspiring and informing believers and encouraging individual piety. The first religious periodical, Christian History, began in 1743 to present news of the Great Awakening, a Protestant revival sweeping the

Northeast, and to reaffirm the founding principles of the original Reformation Movement of Martin Luther. Other regional periodicals followed suit. Moore notes, "Religious magazines described their contents as 'edifying,' an idea which occurs so often the conclusion is inescapable that editors though of the moral and spiritual benefiting of readers as their *raison d'etre*" (1968, p. 7). Today, inspirational publications such as the Upper Room and Guideposts, with a circulation that peaked at four and a half million in 1984, represent the progeny of these first devotional publications of the early Republic. In addition to strictly devotional publications, some early Christian magazines were forerunners of today's family-oriented magazines. These mixed useful news, Bible lessons and personality features. Christian Herald, founded in 1899 and published until 1992, presented the first Polyanna fiction series in serialized form, published on its pages the first red-letter Bible edition, and debuted many of the hymns of prolific writer Fanny Crosby (Lulofs, 1995, p. 129).

Other publications targeted people serving in vocations: not just clergy, but nurses, athletes, teachers, doctors and other professionals who want to live out their faith in the marketplace. The first publication devoted to vocational interests was The Christian Scholar's and Farmer's Magazine. This publication appeared in the late 18th century, and advocated the promotion of religion "to diffuse useful knowledge and to help farmers in their work" (Moore, 1968, p. 8). Today the publishing empire of radio commentator James Dobson produces periodicals for Christian doctors and teachers, in addition to its flagship publication, Focus on the Family.

Denominational Publications

The practical need to bind together denominations led to the development of publications targeted to denominational members including Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists. Most of the publications eventually reached national audiences, but small city and regional publications also found an eager readership. By 1824, at least two-dozen denominational publications thrived in the growing republic as they sought to strengthen the sectarian beliefs of their adherents. "They were similar to The Atlantic and The Nation, for these denominational magazines in the first half of the nineteenth century became known for their forthrightness" (Reed, 1993, p. 6). Denominational publications became so numerous throughout the 19th

century that in 1916 editors covering a meeting of the newly formed Federal Council of Churches (now the National Council of Churches) formed what became the Associated Church Press. Today the ACP has 175 member publications that report reaching a total circulation of more than 28 million people. Some of today's better-known publications are targeted to members of large denominations such as The Lutheran which publishes dozens of regional supplements that ultimately reach more than 650,000 people monthly.

Missionary/Moral and Social Reform Publications

Organizations advocating action on behalf of a particular social cause or a reforrm movement within Christianity served to unite believers from a variety of denominations. These early cross-denominational societies—today called parachurch organizations—initially raised funds to recruit and send missionaries or carry out the religious mandate to extend compassion to the poor or oppressed. So influential were these early missions publications that the editor of Zion's Herald noted in 1825 that as people read more religious publications, literacy grew, church and Bible class attendance increased, and financial giving and service were stimulated (Moore, p. 142). Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, successful parachurch organizations published journals to document their organizations' progress, articulate their mission, and solicit donations. Today these publications include not only those of Focus on the Family and World Vision, but for groups as diverse as those seeking gender inclusiveness, aid for the poor, or fellowship for Asian, African-American and Hispanic believers.

Scholars have noted the role women's moral reform publications played in the rise of religious journalism. Among these publications were The Friend of Virtue, published by the New England Female Moral Reform Society, and The Advocate of Moral Reform, founded in 1835 in New York City. The Advocate, published by the New York Female Moral Reform Society, supported the group's goal of providing assistance to prostitutes and destitute women. Without the journal, "there is every reason to believe the usefulness of the Society would have been greatly circumscribed, perhaps. . . wholly suspended. . . " (cited in Lueck, 1999, p. 167). While the Advocate drew its inspiration from the Second Great Awakening, its all-female editorial and production staff challenged the prevailing silence of religious leaders when it came to addressing issues of adultery and women's rights.

Clarifying Theology/Debating Belief

Given America's marketplace orientation to religious belief, it is not surprising that theological debate characterizes the religious publishing landscape (Marsden, 1980; Marty, 1991; Wuthnow, 1988; Hatch, 1989). During the early part of the 19th century, dissident pastors such as Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone began to question the divisive nature of many of America's denominations. In 1823 Campbell and his father, Thomas, published the Christian Baptist that advocated an end to denominations, and the unity of all Christians based on the simple organizational principles found in the New Testament. This pocket-book sized, 24-page publication was issued monthly from Virginia at the cost of a dollar a year. The younger Campbell also published the Millennial Harbinger, which furthered the call for unity among Christians. While Alexander Campbell's editorials in defense of his ideas were based on strong biblical scholarship, he was not above strong criticism of both the Baptists and the Presbyterians, who had splintered into a number of sects as Christianity spread westward. Ironically, Campbell and Stone did not succeed in convincing established denominations to abandon their specific creeds for a unified Protestant church; instead they spawned a new denomination which later split into three denominations. The churches of Christ, Christian Church and Disciples of Christ emerged from this so-called Restoration Movement, which church historians claim was largely fueled and nurtured through the power of the magazines published by Campbell and Stone. Historians have commented that the churches of Christ, in fact, don't have bishops, they have editors (Hughes, et. al., 1986).

By the 1850s religious periodicals exerted a strong influence on the nation. According to the census of 1850, there were 191 religious publications in the United States, 52 in New York City alone. Reed (1993, p. 7) notes that Biblical Repository magazine claimed in a January 1840 issue that "of all the reading of the people three-fourths is purely religious. . . of all the issues of the press three-fourths are theological, ethical and devotional."

Cultural Change and Editorial Challenges

After the Civil War, the hegemony of Protestantism as a cultural force waned, and most purely religious publications no longer enjoyed large circulation or influence in the

culture at large. New theories about the origin of the Bible and its accuracy, based on an acceptance of scientific reasoning, gained ascendancy in academia, and later in society. Disciples of Charles Darwin gained ascendancy in the academic institutions, training pastors and Church leaders to subject all biblical claims to scientific scrutiny, even as universities broke their ties with the denominations that founded them (Marsden & Longfield, 1992). As they lost importance in shaping public debate, religious magazines also lost readership to secularized publications that arose during the Penny Press period. Later, national newsmagazines and advocacy journals gave American readers a broader array of reading opportunities and religious publications receded into the background, generally supplying news and devotional information for more specialized audiences.

Conservative Christians found themselves on the defensive, their reliance on religion seen as backward and unsophisticated (Carpenter, 1984; Marsden, 1980; Wuthnow, 1988). In 1923, the Scopes trial in Tennessee captured American's attention as daily newspaper articles focused on these fundamentalists. Although John Scopes was convicted of teaching evolution, in violation of state law, the media ridicule of religious belief undercut the Christian message in mainstream culture. Religious leaders affiliated with the mainline denominations (Episcopalian, Methodist, and some Lutherans and Presbyterians) had adapted to cultural and social changes, fitting their theology to gain approval with media and academic elites. Church historian Martin Marty said secular and liberal religious press depicted conservative Christians "as southern hillbillies, even though leadership came from northern urbanites. They were also just as readily dismissed as desiccated, fossilized relics in an age of science, reason and progress" (Marty, 1991, p. 161). These conservative religious believers went underground, seemingly disappearing off the radar of the American religious or cultural experience. Periodical publishing did not cease, but few religious publications commanded a large enough audience to effect mainstream cultural debate.

The Rise of the Evangelical Press

Church historians note that during the Jazz Age, the Depression, and the early years of the Second World War, a fundamental change occurred among conservative Christians (see Sweet, 1980; Silk, 1988; Toulouse, 1993; Marty, 1991). For during the

1920s to 1940s, fundamentalists quietly opened more than 250 Bible colleges to train religious leaders. These colleges provided conservative education lacking at major seminaries such as those at Yale and Harvard. Although remaining inside various denominational structures, fundamentalists used the bible colleges, publications and conferences to create a web-like structure of communication to unite them. One observer (Nordbeck, 1990, p. 1) noted,

> they are linked by no single organization, council or bureaucracy. Indeed, historically, conservatives have often been separatistic, disputatious, and mutually hostile. Yet undeniably, they share a strong family resemblance that cuts across denominational and even deep theological boundaries. Or to put it differently: conservative Christians, in all their diversity, are far more like one another than they are like mainline Protestants or other Christian bodies.

Publications such as the Christian Fundamentalist and Sword of the Lord exhorted fundamentalists and kept "the choir" unified even in its ostrich-like relationship with the culture at large. Borne out of a philosophical defeat, this structure of believers used conservative parachurch organizations, missionary societies, periodicals and conferences to stay in touch with each other. "In spite of its aloofness from twentieth century thought and its disparagement of church traditions, populist Protestantism was immensely energetic, resourceful and inventive; in an increasingly bureaucratic society, it grew in response to the appeals of inspired individualists" (Carpenter, p. 217). Both conservative religious scholars and populist-leaning ministers published books, magazines and hosted radio shows beamed at the laity, now better educated than previous generations, and situated squarely in the middle of the burgeoning middle class migration to the suburbs. As the educational level and sophistication of these fundamentalists grew, so, too, did their desire to impact their neighborhoods, states and the nation with their brand of Christian values.

In 1942, conservative Christians founded the National Association of Evangelicals, an organization which gave substance to the web-like structure that had existed since the Scopes trial. Following World War II, these believers saw membership gains in churches like the Southern Baptists and in new non-denominational Bible-based churches that sprouted in the suburbs. Among the publications created to meet the needs

of these new believers were Youth for Christ magazine, later called Campus Life, and a family-oriented publication called Christian Life. Billy Graham, a former evangelist with Youth for Christ, founded Christianity Today in 1956. Graham saw his publication as a counter-balance to the Protestant magazine most often quoted in the press, the Christian Century, which he saw as caving into the humanistic and scientific mindset of the age. In 1960, Graham also started Decision, the voice of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. That magazine has consistently reached more than a million readers with each issue. So pervasive was the growth of evangelical publications in the years following World War II that editors of several dozen conservative publications met in 1947 and 1948 to lay the groundwork for the Evangelical Press Association, which held its first meeting in Chicago in 1949. The founders of EPA saw their association as a fellowship of magazine editors whose conservative Bible beliefs were out of step with those of the mainline denominational editors and liberal publishers who dominated the Associated Church Press (Trouten, 1999). The conservative editors were especially irked by the focus on social issues, at the expense of evangelism, and at a barrage of politically-liberal resolutions that emanated from the denominational leadership and their magazines (Ron Wilson, EPA Executive Director, personal correspondence, March 20, 2000). At its founding, the EPA had 103 member publications; by 1998 it had quadrupled in membership, far outpacing its older sister, the ACP.

The mainline Protestant press, representing many of the more established denominations, remained active during this growth of evangelicalism. Christianity and Crisis, for instance, was established to provide another voice for the Christian left, as liberals struggled with issues such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War. (Hulsether, 1999). By the 1960s, though, liberal denominations began to decline in membership, posing a series of challenges for mainline Protestant publication editors (The Church Press Faces the Future, 1991).

Criticism of the Protestant Press

As the overall number of Protestant publications has grown the past five decades, so has the criticism of their content and editorial practices. Marty (1963) contends that a large disparity exists between what people expect of the Christian press and what it delivers. He cited poor writing and design as a reason for the publications' weak

circulation, thereby rendering most of the 1500 religious publications "invisible" to the majority of Americans. Religious publications owned by denominations, Marty charged, did little more than print good news about the deeds of denominational leadership, giving "the reader little guidance concerning what is really important in church life and what is merely administrative detail" (1963, p. 43). More recently he expressed concern that Christian niche publications simply mimicked secular publications. "Does adding 'in Christ' to these themes excuse the fact that their treatment of them looks just like the world's?" he asked, later adding that while he has reservations about the wisdom of such an approach to Christian magazines, "I admire at least some of their endeavors to connect faith and life for people who used to be told to be crabby and world-denying" (1 July 1998, p. 663). Olasky of WORLD magazine is more succinct, calling most religious publications joyless and he exhorts editors to use their pages to speak out for biblical values (1999). Olasky adds that a strong Christian magazine should not strive for journalistic objectivity, but rather "a solidly Christian news publication should not be balanced. Its goal should be provocative and evocative, colorful and gripping. Bible-based news analysis" (1996, p. 25).

Several studies have suggested that those who publish Christian magazines are aware of their shortcomings and are disheartened, particularly when they apply journalistic techniques to their work. "When religious interest publications attempt to tell the whole story, advertisers and church member subscribers apply an economic boycott" (Norton, p. 25). Austin notes that battles sometimes rage between editors "with an understanding of journalistic freedom against those who feel that information put out by an organization should more narrowly 'serve the needs' of the organization" (1990, p. 112). Waters (1994) found even during the so-called Year of the Evangelical, that a religious publication edited by Christians with daily newspaper experience—a publication dedicated to fairness and the presentation of a variety of perspectives—was rejected by readers because it did not advocate conservative political and social viewpoints. A recent study by Trouten (1999) found editors were generally pleased with their jobs, although they felt they were less prepared as editors than their secular counterparts in daily newspapers.

In summary, Protestant publications have a long and varied history in America. But what of their status today? The preceding review suggests that publications will favor inspiration and devotional content over news, and that editors and writers will express some dissatisfaction with the level of their editorial content and their editorial freedom. While scholars usually describe religious publishing in monolithic terms, it is likely that strong differences exist in content and editorial approaches among publications. This will likely show up in different editorial content and philosophies expressed by publications that are associated with either the Associated Church Press, considered to be more theologically liberal, or the Evangelical Press Association, considered more theologically conservative. Additionally, many publications appear to rely on financial models different from that of traditional specialty publications. The specialty model relies on strong and interesting editorial content, good advertising, and a sufficient number of subscribers. Religious publications appear to rely on subsidy as well as traditional means for survival. These differences may have implications for how we consider religious publications within the genre of specialized magazines. Finally, religious publications have survived a myriad of cultural, social and technological changes. Publications with messages relevant to faithful followers have survived and thrived. Others have failed. Critics note that the number of publications from evangelicals have grown in recent decades as the conservative religious message finds eager audiences, and technological changes such as desktop publishing make production and delivery of narrowly focused magazines possible. Given this historical ability to adapt, how are religious publications adapting to the newest delivery technology, the internet?

Research Questions

The survey prepared for this study, then, asks the following research questions:

1. Are Protestant publications growing in number? If so, what types of publications are growing?

2. Who reads religious publications?

3. What is the editorial content of these publications? Is it similar to, or different from, that of past religious publications?

4. How are Protestant magazines funded? How does this inform our categorization and theorizing about religious publications and their place within the specialty publication genre?

5. What issues and challenges face religious publications in the future?

6. How are Protestant publications adapting to new technologies such as the internet?

7. Answering these questions, the researcher will also ask an overarching question: although the issues that divided liberal and conservative Christians occurred 75 years ago, are there significant differences in editorial foci, funding or other issues that still remain? Or can Protestant publications be considered as a fairly monolithic genre of specialty publications?

Methodology

Based on the preceding historical analysis and literature review, a 20-question multi-item survey was mailed to most of the members of Associated Church Press (N=126) and Evangelical Press Association (N=288) member publications during the spring of 1999. For the sake of consistency, magazines published outside the United States and Roman Catholic publications affiliated with ACP were not surveyed. Publications with membership in both press organizations were counted as members of ACP since it is the older of the two associations. A follow-up mailing took place in late summer of 1999 to ensure the best possible response rate. The survey sought demographic data about the editors and their publications, and used likert-type scales to elicit further information about their editorial foci and style, means of communicating with readers, means of funding (circulation, advertising and subsidy issues), and future plans regarding expanded editorial content and the use of the internet. Open-ended questions allowed for further response.

Results

Two hundred and one publication executives responded to the survey, a return rate of 48.6 %. Forty-two percent of ACP members responded (n=53) while 51.4 % of EPA members responded (n=148). Of the overall respondents, 26.4 % are ACP members, while 73.6 % are EPA members, thus the results are likely to show a bias toward the

more conservative theological and social views of evangelicals. Of the publications responding, 179 (89.1 %) are national or international in scope, while 22 (10.9 %) are regional. Many of the regional publications are published in a tabloid format, but their responses were included in the study because the frequency of their publication and their targeted audience are characteristic of the specialty magazine genre (Daly, et. al., p. 5).

Leadership: Survey respondents identified themselves as editorial executives (64.5 %), publishers (8.6 %), and non-editorial staff (26.4 %) such as marketing, fundraising or support personnel. The average length of their employment was 7.2 years, with a majority, just over 54 %, saying they had been in the job for less than five years. The ages of respondents ranged across the spectrum. The largest group, 37 %, identified themselves as between the ages of 41 and 55. Another 30.8 % said they were between the ages of 26 and 40. Just over 27% said they were older than 56. Males (54.3%) outnumbered females (45.7%).

Growth: Of those responding, 15 % of the publications were founded in the 19th century (See Table One). Eighteen percent began in the period from 1900 to 1950, a period of stagnancy for religious publishing. But just over two-thirds of the publications began during the last fifty years, a growth that reflects the dynamism of specialized publications since World War II. This also reflects the fact that the majority of publications responding to the survey are members of EPA, the younger of the two press associations. An analysis of the two organization's membership directories reveals one reason why perhaps Protestant publications are nearly invisible. Of the 409 publications listed in the combined directories, 247, or 60.4%, have a circulation of less than 25,000 copies. Only 49, or 12% reach more than 100,000 people. While the number of publications is growing, their circulation pattern reflects a micro-niche audience. Historically, Protestants start publications whenever they disagree with other believers, or when they start a new movement within a denomination. This historic competition leading to the democratization of religion appears to continue today.

Audience

Three sets of questions soliciting likert-type responses (from very descriptive to not descriptive) asked editors to describe the readers of their publications. The seven-

point scales were then collapsed into a three categories: highly descriptive, moderately descriptive and not descriptive.

Nearly half of the publications (49.1 %) describe readers as members of their denomination (See Table Two). Religious magazine executives also say 48 % of their readers are general Christian believers, while 35 % are pastors or theologians. One-third of the editors describe their readers are donors to their organizational cause or effort. The editors say 15 % of their readers are likely to be missionaries. Twelve percent of the magazines are targeted toward readers employed in a vocation such as nursing, medical care, athletics, or business. Confirming the contentions that Christian editors "preach to the choir," only 7% strongly agree that their content is targeted toward a mix of Christians and non-Christians. Statistical differences between members of the liberally-oriented ACP publications and the more conservative EPA publications exist in several readership categories. A chi square analysis found that ACP members are more likely to produce magazines targeted to a denominational membership, and to reach an audience composed to pastors and theologians. EPA publications, on the other hand, are more likely to target general Christian believers, missionaries, and people in a particular vocational or professional group.

Editors were also asked to identify the ages of their target audience. Senior citizens (41.8 %) comprise the largest age group of readers. Married couples (40.8 %) and families (36.8 %) were also identified as important readers. Women read religious magazines more than men. Nearly 48 % of the editors strongly agreed that their primary audience was women, while 37.8 % said their primary readers were men. The two press associations differ significantly in their appeal to families [$X2=6.83$, d.f.=2, $p<.05$]. Sixty-one percent of EPA publications target families, while only 11 % of ACP publications agree that targeting families is descriptive of their editorial intent.

Editorial Focus

The researcher asked editors to describe their editorial content. Their responses show remarkable consistency with their historical forbearers. An analysis of mean score responses to the seven-point likert scale shows that religious publications are primarily concerned with creating editorial content that inspires ($\underline{M}=5.28$), provides theological

education (M=4.36), or educates people about organizational causes (M=4.35). Editorial emphases deemed moderately important were providing advice and educational materials to ministers and teachers (M=3.99), educating Christians about the culture at large (M=3.92), providing "how to" articles on human relationships (M=3.82), reporting missionary news (M=3.65), providing stories encouraging people in particular vocations (M=3.11) and reporting denominational news (M=3.08). The least likely editorial foci are soliciting donations to an organizational cause (M=2.11), providing product reviews on books, CDs and gift items (M=2.05), and providing a Christian perspective on the news (M=1.93).

To determine if differences in editorial foci exist between ACP and EPA members, the seven-point likert scales were collapsed into the three-point scale of highly descriptive, moderately descriptive, and not descriptive. Statistical significance was noted in several areas (See Table Three). ACP members supply more denominational news, more content focused on teaching aids for ministers and teachers, and more articles dedicated to theological insight. EPA member publications provide significantly more content focused on inspiring individuals, and on news about missionary activities. Evangelicals are noted for stressing personal piety and for their emphasis on missionary activities, and these findings are consistent with the historical trends within the movement, which has drawn its strength from a populist appeal to the laity. Likewise, the results show that ACP publications are perhaps weighted toward more readers who are employed as members of the clergy or as executives within denominational structures.

Editors were also asked to estimate how much of their editorial mix was dedicated to news, reviews, feature stories and the like. Feature stories comprise 34.7 % of the publications content, while denominational news comes in second at 22 %. News about national or international events is the content category least likely to appear in the publications (6.3 %). ACP publications printing more Bible commentary and theological treatises than do their EPA counterparts [X^2=46.35, d.f.=2, p<.005]. Evangelical editors were more likely to print reviews of books, music and other consumer goods [X^2=34.50, d.f.=2, p<.005]. Again, this is consistent with the historical focus by ACP publications

on denominational news and information for professional clergy, while EPA publications are in general targeted more to the laity.

Financial Considerations

Historically, magazines with religious content have relied on several funding models. Some, like popular magazines in general, have relied on a combination of subscription and advertising revenue. Others have been published by their denomination or religious organization and distributed free to members or donors. Occasionally, publications have relied on financial assistance from individual or foundation donors to make up deficits in their budget. Given this mix of funding models, editors were asked to estimate the percentage of their annual budget derived from advertising, subscriptions, foundation or donor subsidy, organizational subsidy, or other sources (See Table Four).

Advertising: Forty-two percent receive some advertising revenue. Of the publications that do accept advertising, ad revenue accounted for only 11 % of their total budget.

Subscription: Seventy percent of the publications charge some sort of subscription fee. The other publications are distributed free to members of denominations or to donors of parachurch organizations. Subscriber income accounts for 39.4 % of the budget of those magazines that rely on subscriptions. An analysis of the directories of ACP and EPA shows that many denominational organizations charge a small annual fee for their publication, or provide bulk copies to churches for a nominal fee. Most parachurch organizations do not charge an annual subscription fee.

Organizational subsidy: Sixty-five percent of the publications receive some form of organizational subsidy, usually because they are public relations pieces of the denomination or organization that publishes them. Editors say the subsidy accounts for 40.4 % of their overall budget.

Foundation or Donor Support: Thirty percent say they receive funding from individual donors or from foundations. Those that do receive some outside funding say it accounts for about 11 % of their overall budgets.

The researcher attempted to better understand this funding issue by analyzing membership data from the two organizations' membership directories. This analysis is probably more useful as an indicator of funding than the actual survey data supplied by

the editors. Publications were divided into four ownership categories: denomination; parachurch; independently supported with a social cause or news focus; and independently supported with a focus on denominational news or denominational renewal. Presumably the former two are highly subsidized by their sponsoring organization while the latter two must survive with strong editorial content and a mix of subscribers and advertising, much like other specialty publications. The analysis shows that 62.7 percent of ACP publications are published by denominations, while only 25.6 percent of EPA publications are denominationally owned. The highest percentage of EPA publications, 48.9 percent, are affiliated with parachurch organizations. Overall, 76.7 percent of ACP publications are published by either a denomination or a parachurch organization; 74.5 percent of EPA publications are published by a denomination or parachurch organization. Put another way, only one-fourth of Protestant publications follow the traditional specialty publication model of good editorial content begetting adequate subscribers and advertising to succeed.

Relationships with Advertisers

Do religious publications that accept advertising plan special advertising sections, accept advetorials, and promote generally accepted guidelines for separating editorial and advertising functions? Twenty-seven percent of those who accept ads plan special advertising sections, while 16 percent accept advetorials. The vast majority, 83.5 %, of magazine executives say they maintain strict boundaries between the editorial and advertising functions of their publication and 97.8 % say advertisers are not allowed to influence content. "We preserve our editorial integrity by keeping the traditional wall between advertising and editorial departments high," the managing editor of Christianity Today explained to readers when the advertising content of a 1997 issue topped 50 percent. "Our news department is focused on the essential task of providing the best reporting of religion news for evangelical leaders. If a story reflects negatively on an advertiser, and the information is important to our readers, we publish it" (Maudline, 6 October, 1997).

Just over one-third (33.7 %), however, admit they do "allow advertiser concerns to influence how a story is written." This trend is more noticeable in EPA publications than in ACP publications, as 40 % of the EPA publications that accept advertising say

they are aware of advertiser concerns when they write stories. Twenty-one percent of ACP publications say they allow advertiser concerns to influence a story. This may seem like an ethical slippery slope until one considers that the universe of potential advertisers (book publishers, music distributors, church construction and supply businesses) is limited, and editors are loathe to offend an advertising source by publishing a story that might result in diminished advertising revenue. Maudline explains (1997, 6 October) that Christianity Today's ads are an extension of the editorial mission of the magazine. While his publication has enough advertising to survive, other magazines may be tempted to re-define their editorial mission in a way that avoids biting the hand of potential advertisers. None of the editors who accept advertising added comments to the survey indicating that they had ever been threatened or coerced by advertisers. Personal discussions with editors suggests that watering-down of news about potential advertisers takes the form of soft-pedaling criticism of new books or CDs.

Religious publications have weathered economic, cultural and theological challenges for more nearly 300 years, and judging from their sheer numbers, more are being published than at any previous time in American history. But in an age of media convergence and changing audience preferences, what do the magazines see as their challenges?

Periodical executives were asked to rank the importance of 12 items related to the challenges they face in their job. Overall mean scores were calculated for each variable.

Editors could not identify one major challenge that appears to be overwhelming them. Generally, they felt moderately challenged by issues such as the need to find new readers while keeping current readers (M=4.79), finding competent writers (M=4.63), finding money to expand pages (M=4.55), making content more interesting (M=4.55), finding new audiences (M=4.5) increasing circulation (M=4.26) or finding money to hire more staff (M=4.06). Of even less importance to the editors were issues such as maintaining their strategic vision (M=3.85), adapting their religious content for a post-modern society (M=3.8) and helping others within the organization see the value of their publication and its mission (M=3.28). The one variable that did elicit strong response was that of the desire for more editorial freedom. Editors were asked to respond to the statement, [I need] "more editorial freedom." The mean score of their response, 1.93,

(not descriptive) indicates that editors do not feel a challenge to their editorial freedom from their publishers or superiors within their organization. This finding stands in contrast to the contentions of several critics of Christian magazines.

Web Presence

The final set of variables probed the extent to which the publications are embracing a digital future. Two-thirds (67 percent) have a presence on the worldwide web. Of those who don't, 16.4 percent plan to inaugurate web sites in the near future. Editors estimate they post 47 percent of their printed version on their website. Some say they wait a few weeks until printed versions have arrived at the home of subscribers; others post their content immediately. A few indicated that they do not "shovel" their printed content online; rather they are striving for a more integrated information site either within their denominational site or as a stand-alone religious information website. Responsibility for preparing and posting that web content rests with the editorial staff (47.9 percent) and with non-editorial personnel within the magazine's organization (42.9 percent). Only nine percent of the publications outsource their webzine's creation and maintenance. Perhaps indicative of future trends, several editors indicated in open-ended comments that the presence of their website has made them more cautious about copyright issues, and has opened up better dialogue with their readers. Given that a large segment of the readers of religious publications are senior citizens and adults, the high number of publications introducing web sites may allow them to reach increasingly younger audiences and attract new generations of readers to their content.

Analysis and Conclusion

The publishing of periodicals aimed at religious audiences continues to grow. This reflects both trends within the specialty publishing industry, and the trend among Protestants to use media such as television, radio and printed matter to spread their message and unite believers. The competitive nature of the American religious scene no doubt encourages this growing proliferation of media promoting specific beliefs, causes and theological debates. Increasingly, the content is being posted on the worldwide web, which augers well for the future of the content these religious publications currently provide.

The audiences of religious publications are adults and the majority receive religious publications as a result of denominational affiliation or because they support a specific social or humanitarian cause of a parachurch organization. This conclusion is evident from both the editorial foci of the publications and the fact that nearly two-thirds say they receive a subsidy from a denominational or parachurch group. Those who publish Protestant magazines may not be targeting a "waiting audience with sought-after information that often results in intense cover-to-cover reading. . .," (Compaine, 1980, p. 103). Instead, they may be reaching people who happen to be denominational members or who receive a publication because they once made a donation to the organization. Their loyalty to the magazine, and their eagerness to receive it, could be called into diminished as a result. Thus one question for further research is to probe readership habits among those who receive religious publications. This would not only answer the question of intensity of readership, but might provide information on the influence of religious publications upon their believers, especially since most religious publications provide information while attempting to cement the organizational affiliation or encourage people to increased religious or humanitarian activity.

Little attempt has been made to use religious periodicals to fulfill evangelistic outreach or to present a Christian perspective on the news for a largely secular audience. Religious publications, like other specialty publications, are aimed squarely at readers who want the content and have indicated an interest in receiving that content. Thirty years ago Marty called for the creation of a national Christian publication modeled after the Christian Science Monitor. Today it appears unlikely that such a publication will appear as the desire to defend one's theological or doctrinal beliefs would render cooperation nearly impossible. Rather, religious publications are faithfully carrying out a key portion of the ACP statement of purpose: "to foster development and growth among the faithful" (ACP Directory, 1999). Still, this lack of a religious news publication deserves more study.

Another area of interest is the extent to which religion writers on staff of daily newspapers rely on religious publications as news sources. Perhaps religious publications are reaching a secondary audience through the news coverage of major newspapers and television stations. Past research on religion and newspaper coverage

has not explored this important variable (Buddenbaum, J., personal communication, March 5, 2000).

A question related to usage of religious publications is that of typology. Specialty publications rely on a mix of editorial excellence, advertising revenue and paid subscriptions. Religious publications strive to present useful editorial content, but they rely on organizational subsidy to a much larger degree than do specialized publications. In short, religious publications do not situate easily within the genre we know as specialty publications (See Prior-Miller, 1995). Indeed, some might question whether many religious publications should be considered as specialty publications alongside their independent brethren who must fight for survival through content, advertising and sophisticated marketing. Perhaps some religious publications share more in common with trade or specialized business publications. Further research into the complexities of religious publications, particularly their funding and sponsorship, could be useful in better understanding religious publications and perhaps help us better sort out other complex arrangements within the broad field of specialized magazine publishing. This could help further refine our theories about specialty magazines.

Perhaps the most useful area for future study is that of how religious publications use the internet. Most religious publications already have a web presence. Some simply post portions of their magazine online, while others participate with their sponsoring organization in more of a one-stop religious inspiration or news site. Several religious web portals have been founded. One is owned by Christianity Today, Inc., which not only owns its namesake publication, but several others such as Today's Christian Woman, Campus Life, Marriage Partnership, Leadership and Christianity & Culture. The site provides synergy for all publications and their advertisers. Recently the president of a Christian university announced his acceptance of the job of President and CEO of a start-up called Christianity.com. In his announcement letter to the university, he noted that the site "will attempt to create the definitive, high quality internet Christian network to serve churches, ministries and individual Christians" (Daveport, March 17, 2000). With $30 million in venture capital funding, the proposed website may become the internet equivalent of Marty's hoped-for national Protestant magazine. What other synergies might exist involving religious messages and web site content?

What of the future of magazines published by organizations? Although quantitative responses to the survey do not strongly indicate that editors struggle with financial issues, their open-ended comments reflect the fact that as staffing, production, paper and postage costs rise, budgets are an ever-present concern. Some organizational leaders will no doubt be looking to the internet as a way of distributing magazine content, and eventually phasing out their printed publication all together. Again, this may be an area of future study, perhaps spreading across the whole spectrum of specialty publications.

Finally, this study only considered Protestant publications affiliated with their two press associations. Further study of the dynamic Catholic and Jewish press, and the emerging publications targeted to Buddhists, Hindus and other believers should also be considered. While this study has emphasized the historical development of Protestant publications, and noted differences between two broad categories of publications—mainline Protestant and evangelical Protestant—future studies should look for similarities and areas of mutual concern among all publications attempting to reach the religious faithful.

Conclusion

While religious magazines rarely rate a mention in journalism history studies, and are not likely to be the focus of many journalism courses at the college level, the genre itself continues to grow and publications for an ever-smaller niche of readers seem to be cropping up. While most may fail, the sheer numbers of religious publications reflect a continued religious interest in America as people read to improve their faith and how they live out that faith in their daily interactions with people, government and culture. Because of their rich tradition, and their continuing vibrancy, religious publications provide a fertile ground for future research by media scholars.

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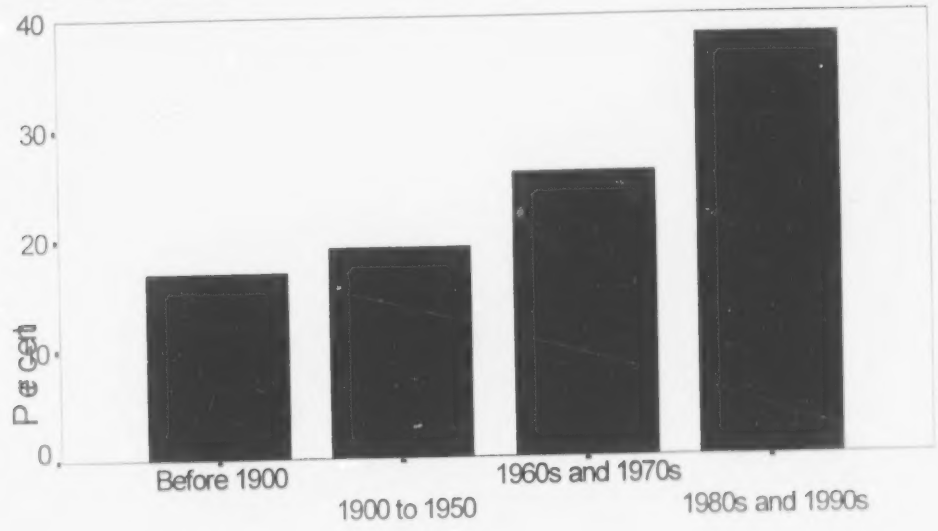
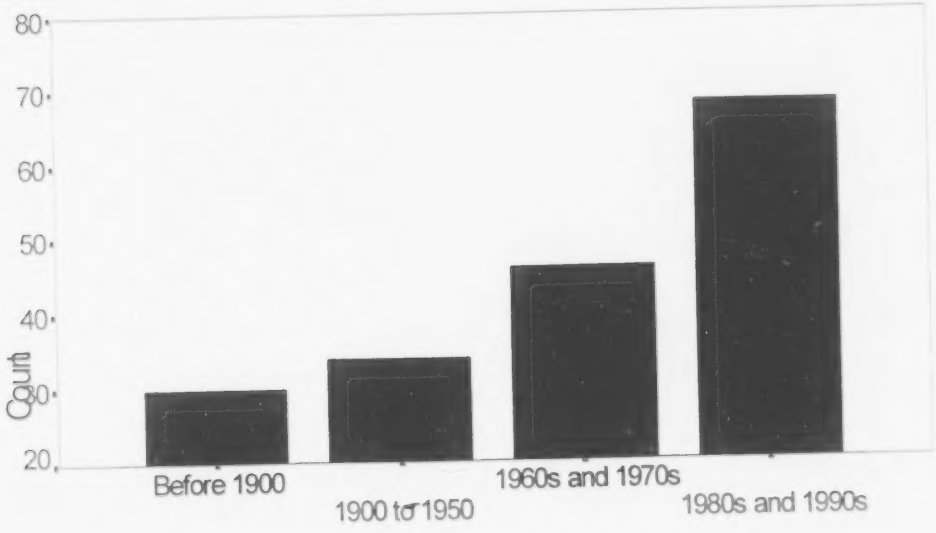
Table One

When Protestant Religious Publications were Founded





N=409
Before 1900: N=30
1900-1950: N=34
1951-1970: N=46
1971-1999: N=68
Missing: 23

Table Two

Comparison of readership of Associated Church Press and Evangelical Press Association Publications

Our Readers are. . .	All % very descriptive	ACP % very descriptive	EPA % very descriptive	p	X^2
Denominational members	48.8	71.7	40.4	.001	25.57
General Christian Believers	48.0	25.0	54.8	.005	11.05
Pastors, theologians	35.4	59.0	27.6	.001	14.94
Donors to our organization	33.5	31.7	34.0		
Missionaries	15.0	7.1	17.6	.05	9.01
People in specific vocations	12.0	16.7	12.6	.005	10.44
Believers & non-believers	7.0	7.3	6.9		

d.f.=2

Table Three

Comparison of "Very Descriptive" scores for Editorial Focus for Associated Church Press and Evangelical Press Association

EDITORIAL FOCUS	All % very descriptive	ACP % very descriptive	EPA % very descriptive	p	X^2
Inspiring believers	56.6	40.4	62.3	.05	7.54
Action re: our cause	42.3	37.7	43.9		
Theological education	34.2	54.7	26.7	.001	19.37
Denominational news	29.9	53.8	21.4	.001	22.96
Info for ministers & teachers	29.1	35.8	26.7	.05	7.78
"how to" re: relationships, etc.	28.1	19.6	31.0		
Advocacy re: our culture & issues	27.6	28.3	27.4		
News re: missionaries	27.1	15.1	31.5	.05	6.16
Perform better at vocation (job)	20.5	25	18.9		
General news about world events	17.1	18.9	16.4		
Donations to our cause	7.6	5.8	8.2		
Consumer purchase assistance	5.5	0	7.5		
News for non-believers	4.6	3.9	4.8		

d.f.=2

Table Four

Sources of Funding for Protestant Publications

SOURCE	Overall % of budget for mags receiving funds from this source	Percentage of publications reporting some income from this source
Advertising	11.5	42.0
Subscriptions	39.4	70.0
Donors	11.2	30.0
Organizational Subsidy	40.4	65.0

N=187

Table Five

Ownership of Protestant Periodicals

	% Denomination	% Parachurch	% Independent	% Ind. With Denominational Focus	N
ACP	62.7	14.0	11.3	12.0	150
EPA	25.6	48.9	19.9	5.6	266
Total	38.9	36.3	16.8	7.9	416

Significant difference noted:
$X^2=75.14$, d.f.=3, $p<.001$

Source: ACP and EPA membership directories

A Comparison of Magazine Summer Olympic Coverage by Gender and Race: A Content Analysis of *Sports Illustrated*

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A Comparison of Magazine Summer Olympic Coverage by Gender and Race: A Content Analysis of *Sports Illustrated*

By Jim Mack

Abstract

This study content analyzed 212 Summer Olympic articles in *Sports Illustrated*, seeking to find if the magazine provided representative coverage of women and minority U.S. athletes. The total U.S. medal winners for race and gender divisions was compared to the number of pictures and print references to U.S. athletes in Olympic articles from 1960 to 1996. This study found that, quantitatively, *Sports Illustrated* did provide representative coverage of female and minority athletes for the Summer Olympics. White women and black men and women were often overrepresented in several years of coverage, particularly after 1976. Prior to 1980, though, women were slightly underrepresented in pictures and print references.

A Comparison of Magazine Summer Olympic Coverage by Gender and Race: A Content Analysis of *Sports Illustrated*

Introduction

This paper presents a content analysis of *Sports Illustrated* magazine concerning its coverage of the Summer Olympic Games. Specifically, the study sought to determine how much coverage was given to minority and female athletes, and whether or not that coverage accurately reflects the actual number of medal winners. The study dealt with United States athletes only and used the number of athletes pictured and referred to in print as the basis for comparison. The sample included 212 Summer Olympic articles from 1960 to 1996.

It is necessary to monitor the national media from time to time to confirm that it is providing a true picture of the world that it covers. Among the issues which must be considered is whether or not the media accurately represents the subjects on whom it is reporting, and in the case of this study, whether or not African Americans and women—two classically underrepresented groups in American media—are given representative coverage.

Work by Culbertson (1976), based on communication theories by Chaffee and McLeod (1968), has shown that journalists draw from two viewpoints when making news judgements. They consider their own beliefs and values, and they consider what they believe their audience values. Chaffee and McLeod called this phenomenon coorientation. If an editor, for example, accurately coorients to his audience, effective mass communication should occur. The audience should gain satisfaction by having their communication needs met.

This small aside is used to bring up one important point. What if an editor correctly provides his audience with what it desires to read, but does not fairly represent the coverage? As in this study, what if it is found that *Sports Illustrated* does not accurately represent women or minorities, but the audience does not particularly care for equal coverage of these groups? If white males are overrepresented, should editors attempt to balance coverage with other groups, even if audience research shows they do not wish this to occur---or have no opinion on the matter? It can be argued that the editors should.

After World War II, the Hutchins Commission met to assess and plan the course of media in the United States. Coming out of that commission was the Social Responsibility Theory: that one of the most critical responsibilities of the media is to lead the audience, not merely follow it, as a part of its obligation to report the news in a way that gives it meaning (Nanney, 17). Culbertson acknowledged that a communications leader should follow their audience to some degree to better understand for whom they are writing. But a journalist should be careful to avoid losing his autonomy when doing so. It has been shown the audience often looks to the media to learn what they should consider important. If the media is continually looking toward its audience for direction in news coverage, it might be a case of what Culbertson likes to term "the dog chasing his own tail."

Readers may not object to unrepresentative coverage because they do not know of any other type of coverage. In some cases, a reader's view of African Americans can come directly, and exclusively, from the media. If that is the case, an editor does have a social responsibility to present an accurate picture of the subjects his publication covers.

So why sports? Is it even important to study whether a sports magazine, with a clearly defined audience, is being "politically correct?" Francis (1990), in his thesis concerning *Sports Illustrated's* coverage of African American basketball players, states that "sport reflects society" is a tenet of sport sociologists—that the constituents of sport are expected to reflect general attitudes within American society. Francis argues that the depiction of black athletes in sport media is a reflection of blacks in the general media. Each of these depictions can be generalized to the treatment of blacks throughout American society.

Davis (1997), in her study of *Sports Illustrated's* Swimsuit Issue, reasons, "mass media plays a central role in legitimizing and maintaining various forms of stratification in contemporary Western societies" (Davis, 3). She points out several methods by which the media perpetuate stereotypes in society. These ideas will be discussed later. Kane (1996) comments, "The media greatly influence who and what have value, status, and power in this culture. By their symbolic annihilation of the female athlete, the media tell us that sportswomen have little, if any value in this society, particularly in relationship to male athletes" (Kane, 110). The media can have a large role in defining its audience's attitudes, particularly when it is one of the few resources one has to encounter people unlike oneself.

The next question should be: So why *Sports Illustrated*? *Sports Illustrated* was established in 1954 and has a total paid circulation of 3, 281, 395, by far the largest sports magazine, or men's magazine for that matter (*SRDS* February, 2000). The Simmons Market Research found that, in 1991, *Sports Illustrated* reached 19.8 percent of men over 18 years of age and 21.8 percent of men that make over $25,000 in the U. S. It produces

one of the highest amounts of advertising revenue, pulling in $247 million in 1986 (Davis, 64-65). *Sports Illustrated* has the potential to shape a great number of people's views about sport and the world in general.

The last question, then, is why the Olympics? There are several reasons. One is the nature of the Olympic Games, namely its emphasis on equality and sportsmanship. While there is difference in numbers between male and female athletes, that gap is narrowing—the 1996 Atlanta games invited 3, 779 women, up 20 percent from Barcelona in 1992. Seoul had 2,438 female athletes in 1988, and Los Angeles had 1,620 in 1984. There were 6,500 positions open for men in Atlanta (Spaid, 10). Increasingly, men and women compete in similar, if not identical, events. The design of Olympic competition is conducive to a study of equality in media treatment. If similar numbers do exist, one would expect similar coverage between genders. Also, because the Games are supposed to be based on fairness and equal opportunity, one expects the coverage to reflect this idea. Treatment of black U.S. athletes should reflect the actual number of black medal winners.

Another significant idea is the Olympic tradition of intense competition and nationalism. One would expect *Sports Illustrated*, being a U.S. sports medium, to emphasize every possible success and potential success of U.S. athletes, regardless of race or gender. Also, Olympic coverage occurs at a specific time, every four years and at a certain time in each of those years. Information can be located and analyzed with relative ease. And the Summer Olympics were chosen to have measurable numbers of minority athletes.

Review of Literature

Several studies have been conducted that show women and minorities have been underrepresented or negatively represented in American media. Atkin and Fife (1994) compared the frequency and nature of appearances in the news of different racial and gender groups to test the theory that white women have been making progress in their media representation at the expense of minorities. Videotapes of all primary local newscasts in Detroit were content analyzed and compared with U. S. Census data of metropolitan Detroit. White males were found to be overrepresented, appearing five times as much as white females, who appeared only 13 percent of the time. Black men and women were overrepresented, making up 11 percent and 13 percent of appearances.

Lester (1994) content analyzed four newspapers to study trends in representation of African Americans over time. He found that representation has increased over the years, but there was also an increase in stereotypical coverage, such as crime, sports and entertainment. Lester's findings mirrored those he found in major American news magazines in a 1990 study.

Kane (1996) cites Lumpkin and Williams who found that out of 3723 feature articles in *Sports Illustrated* between 1954 and 1987, black women were featured in 16. Kane's research has led her to conclude that the media gives the impression that women are absent from sport, and when women are covered, they are often trivialized or sexualized by the media—two techniques that deny women power. She states that women athletes are trivialized when they are portrayed in ways that do not treat them seriously, by focusing on their femininity or personal lives. Women athletes are

sexualized by portraying them as sexual objects or overemphasizing physical attractiveness. By sexualizing sportswomen, Kane believes, the media remind us that women are not like male athletes, never can be nor should be.

Daddario (1994) looked at video coverage of women's sports during the 1992 Winter Olympics, noting the difference in feminine versus masculine sports. She found that broadcasts contained condescending descriptions of women, compensatory rhetoric, and labeling of female athletes as cooperative rather than competitive.

Halbert and Latimer (1994) studied the "Battle of Champions" between Jimmy Conners and Martina Navratilova. They found the commentators to minimize women's athletic competition, focusing on gender marking of the female, only—repeatedly calling Navratilova "a women's tennis player," and emphasizing her extreme preparation for the match rather than her physical skill.

Gender and race marking were also prevalent in Messner, Duncan and Jensen's 1993 study, contributing to the construction of gender and racial "hierarchy." They found women's sports and female athletes were often referred to as "other," and that an "infantilizing" of women and athletes of color did occur.

Hallmark and Armstrong (1999) focused on broadcasts of men's and women's basketball games and discovered women's games had fewer camera shots, shots of longer duration, and took up less broadcast time.

Tuggle (1997) looked at the differences in the reporting of men's and women's athletics on ESPN's Sportscenter and CNN Sports Night and found the two programs devoted only about five percent of their time to women's sports. They found women's stories to focus on individual competition, with almost no attention given to team sports.

Riffe, Place and Mayo (1993) looked at ads during male and female traditional programming and found that more male characters occur in sports programming ads and were more likely to have speaking roles in those ads.

Sage and Furst (1994), basing their work on extensive research on gender bias in the media, showed that increases in participation in athletics by women has not been mirrored by increased coverage in the media. They studied varying sizes of papers and found that the larger the paper, the less coverage devoted to women.

Duncan (1990) did an interesting study on sport photographs from the 1984 and 1988 Olympic Games. She looked at 1369 Olympic pictures in major sport and news magazines and found many that emphasize sexual differences. These photographs, Duncan asserts, tend to confer power on men and limit power for women. She compared some photos to soft-core pornography, noting they depicted sexual invitation, suggestiveness, revealing poses and submissiveness.

A very thorough and comprehensive study of gender issues was done by Davis in her study of *Sport's Illustrated's* Swimsuit Issue. Davis discusses many of the audience/editor issues discussed earlier in this paper. She points out that it wasn't until the mid 1960's when *Sports Illustrated* started to beckon solely to male viewers—the Swimsuit Issue officially began, it started to place more emphasis on spectator sports associated with masculinity—and it began making a profit (65). Davis is quick to emphasize that the Swimsuit Issue is *for men*. A man would not read a women's magazine's swimsuit edition, nor does *Sports Illustrated's* contain men in bikinis—they are not catering to a female audience (31).

Davis attempts to define what actually causes what some perceive as a sexist tone, epitomized by the swimsuit issue, in the magazine. She notes that producers of sports coverage seek a male audience, and, in turn, that audience perpetuates the type of coverage it receives—what Davis calls "the use of sport as a masculine preserve." "One wonders," she says, "to what degree these media practices are driven by sexism, and to what degree they are driven by the pursuit of profit" (57). *Sports Illustrated* targets an affluent male audience, for as one publisher put it, "Publishing is about selling magazines" (58).

Davis states that the producers of *Sports Illustrated* structure the magazine content around the theme of hegemonic masculinity—producers create content that suggests it is a "men's magazine" rather than simply a "sports magazine" (59). (Indeed, *SI* is not even listed in *SRDS* under the sports heading. It is with the weeklies such as *Time*.)

How *Sports Illustrated* does present women negatively is discussed by Davis, as well, but she temporizes these observations with a look toward maximizing profits by the publishers rather than a conscious push for hegemony (61). At any rate, Davis says it does cover women's sports, but "minimizes the opposition that women athletes represent by containing only tokenistic coverage of women athletes by focusing on women's sports and women athletes who do not represent strong challenges to gender norms" (60). Because of this, the male content-oriented reader is not put off. But even this token coverage may attract readers who follow women's or "secondary" sports. Few other media outlets even cover these areas, making *Sports Illustrated* one of the few sources for this information at all (60).

It may seem that *Sports Illustrated* and other sports media (or all media for that matter) greatly misrepresent women and minorities, but not all studies have proven this. Kinnick (1998) studied the 1996 Summer Olympic coverage of male and female athletes in five leading U.S. newspapers and found less gender bias than anticipated. Kinnick did not find quantitative differences in coverage, or in the placement or prominence of stories.

Francis (1990) looked at the coverage of back players in five college basketball seasons from 1954 to 1986 in *Sports Illustrated* and found increasing amounts of coverage along with a majority of positive articles. The black athletes were depicted in a non-stereotypical nature and concerned success more often than problems or negative issues. Francis suggests that *Sports Illustrated's* coverage may not reflect other media, and "has broken ground on which other media has yet to tread." Francis did find, though, that the coverage often only focused on the black players as athletes, and not as a "total person."

Research Questions

The intent of this content analysis, then, was to determine, quantitatively, if U.S. women and minorities, and particularly African Americans, were accurately represented in *Sports Illustrated's* coverage of the Summer Olympics. Specifically, did the coverage of these groups match the medal winners from each competition? Did the percent of medal winners match the percentages of athletes pictured and referred to in print across race and gender groups? Has coverage improved over time?

Method

This study content analyzed 212 Summer Olympic articles from ten years of coverage in *Sports Illustrated*. It included every Olympic year from 1960 to 1996 (1980 was included even though the U.S. boycotted those Games held in Moscow—there were still some references to U.S. athletes, but no medal data to compare them to). The universe included each Olympic article in every issue published between the dates of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Games, and one issue before, and one issue after each of those dates. Every Olympic article in those issues was coded. An article was deemed Olympic if it had any mention of Olympic athletes or the Games themselves. An article concerning the Olympics was the unit of analysis. After the data was tabulated, the percentages for each group were compared to the percentage of medal winners. The number of medals won was not used—it was the number of athletes who one medals. A gold medal for basketball carried the weight of 12, one for each player. An athlete who won more than one medal had each count toward the total.

Coding process

Coders looked at the covers of the above specified issues, the number of Olympic athletes pictured in each article and the number of references to athletes in Olympic articles. The coders used one code sheet for each article. The following is the coding process that was followed.

1.) Coders first logged the title of the article onto the coding sheet. (The analysis designer later coded and arranged the articles by case number.)

2.) The date of the issue in which the article appears in was recorded.

3.) Next, the cover was determined to be of an Olympic or non-Olympic theme. If it was Olympic, the picture was then coded as containing a foreign athlete; a US white male; a US black male; a US white female; a US black female; another US minority or a non-human Olympic cover. If there was more than one athlete, whichever type had two athletes depicted, it was coded accordingly. If there were equal numbers of each, the largest picture was coded. If they were of equal size, the picture closest to the center was coded.

4.) Then the total number of white male athletes who are pictured in the article was coded. Two athletes in one picture counted as 2, and so on. It was the total number of athletes pictured, not number of pictures. Spectators, coaches, officials, etc. were not to be coded. (In earlier issues, there were hand drawings of Olympic athletes—these were given the same weight as photographs and coded accordingly.)

5.) The total number of US black male athletes pictured.

6.) The total number of US other minority male athletes pictured.

7.) The total number of US white female athletes pictured.

8.) The total number of US black female athletes pictured.

9.) The total number of US other minority female athletes pictured.

10.) The total number of athletes with indeterminable race, gender or nationality pictured. Coders took their best guess when coding pictures, if they were not 85 percent sure of the athlete pictured, then they were coded as indeterminable. Coders were reminded to look in the text for statements of nationality or race of pictured athletes, as well as to look to pictures for information on uncertain references. The names of these athletes were recorded for future research if they were provided.

11.) Next, coders counted the number of references to US white male athletes in the article. Coders counted each time an athlete's name appeared in print throughout the article. One athlete's name appearing three times equaled 3; a mention of another US white male athlete was 4, etc. First, last and nicknames were coded. Names appearing in headlines and captions were coded.

12.) The total number of references to US black male athletes was coded.

13.) The total number of references to US other minority male athletes.

14.) The total number of references to US white female athletes.

15.) The total number of references to US black female athletes.

16.) The total number of references to US other minority female athletes.

17.) The total number of references to athletes with indeterminable race, gender or nationality was coded. The names were recorded for future analysis.

An example of the coding sheet used is provided at the end of the paper in Appendix 2.

Reliability Report

Overall intercoder reliability for this study, based on percentage of agreement, was 93% (Stempel and Westley, 1989). The test was based on three coders coding 14 randomly selected Olympic articles.

The range of percentage of agreement for each item is as follows:

1.) Issue—100%

2.) Cover of Issue—100%

3.) US White Male Athletes Pictured—95%

4.) US Black Male Athletes Pictured—95%

5.) US Other Minority Male Athletes Pictured—100%

6.) US White Female Athletes Pictured—93%

7.) US Black Female Athletes Pictured—94%

8.) US Other Minority Female Athletes Pictured—100%

9.) Indeterminable Athletes Pictured—69%

10.) Print References to US White Male Athletes—91%

11.) Print References to US Black Male Athletes—89%

12.) Print References to US Other Minority Male Athletes—100%

13.) Print References to US White Female Athletes—87%

14.) Print References to US Black Female Athletes—100%

15.) Print References to US Other Minority Female Athletes—100%

16.) Print References to Indeterminable Athletes—82%

The title of the article was the first item to be coded, but was not included in the test, as each article was previously selected and was the same for each coder.

Results

Overall, this study found that, quantitatively, *Sports Illustrated's* coverage of U.S. women and minorities in Olympic articles was fairly, but not entirely, representative. In terms of comparison to Olympic medalists, the group that was most underrepresented was white males. (But this reflects the high percentage of white male medal winners—stemming from participation issues, which will not be discussed in this paper.) The totals of pictures and print references usually mirrored the number of medal winners within a few percentage points.

Female athletes were found to be underrepresented to some degree—particularly in terms of print references. Black female U.S. athletes were underrepresented overall in print references and in every year of coverage. They were underrepresented in pictures every year except 1992 and 1996. These are not large differences in percentages, though. The highest difference from medal winners to print references for black females was 8.6% in 1984. The lowest was 1.8% in 1972. The largest difference for pictures of white females was 24.2% in 1968. Black males were overrepresented overall and in every year except 1976 in pictures and print. They were also underrepresented in pictures in 1984.

Full data tables are provided in Appendix 1 at the end of the paper.

In terms of total numbers, male U.S. athletes were underrepresented in picture form by 5%, but overrepresented in print references by roughly 4%. Females, in turn, were overrepresented in pictures by about 4%, and underrepresented in print by 4%. These percentages are made up almost equally by total pictures and references to white and black females. Black males were overrepresented by 6.9% in pictures and 12.5% in print. White males were underrepresented by 12.5 % in pictures and 11.3 % in print. It is important to note, though, that white males still made up, by far, the largest amount of coverage in both categories. Differences in coverage of other U.S. minority athletes was under 2.2% for each division (the highest coming in print references to other male minorities). Both male and female in the category of other minorities were actually overrepresented in pictures based on total counts from the study.

In terms of yearly coverage, white females were underrepresented in both categories every year until 1972. In 1976 there was a slight underrepresentation in both categories (2.6% for print and 0.3% for references), and were slightly underepresented in

print for 1984 and 1992 (8.9% and 8% respectively). There is a clear distinction between representation of women from 1960 to 1976 and after 1980. While the differences are slight in 1976, females were underrepresented in each category before the 1894 Olympics. Another interesting trend that appears is the overrepresentation of females, particularly white females in pictures. The differences are not large, but in 1972 white U.S. females were overrepresented by 11.5%; 1.7% in 1984; 4.3% in 1988; 2.4% in 1992 and 5.9% in 1996. Black females were also slightly overrepresented in pictures in 1992 and 1996.

As mentioned earlier, black males were overrepresented in each category every year except 1976, and in pictures in 1984. Their highest difference in overrepresentation was 47.2% for pictures in 1968. Coverage of women did increase in 1972, but after 1976 (where there was a decrease) there was no discernable trend of increased coverage.

In terms of covers, 18 issues containing Olympic articles had a non-Olympic cover, but they contained only 15.6% of the articles. In contrast, there were 4 issues with U.S. black females on the cover, containing 26.4% of the articles. White males were pictured 5 times on covers, also containing 26.4% of the articles. Foreign Olympians were shown 6 times for 16% of the articles, and U.S. black males had four covers containing 8.5 % of the articles. U.S. white females were pictured on 2 covers containing 5.2% of the articles, and a non-human Olympic cover was used for 1 issue containing 1.9% of the articles.

Discussion

This quantitative analysis suggests *Sports Illustrated* actually does a pretty good job of representing women and minorities during the Summer Olympics. For total numbers the greatest underrepresentation was only 2.4% for print references to black females. Both white and black women were (slightly) overrepresented in pictures of U.S. athletes. Coverage of Olympic athletes in general has increased over the years. Recent issues have devoted entire issues to Olympic coverage (causing, in large part, the high increase in coverage in the late 1980's and 1990's).

Because this study compared measured values to given statistics (counts of the pictures and references to medal winners), a comparison of means is not practical. Nor is a comparison of numbers across years. Each count must be compared to the medal winners from that year individually; then those differences in percentages can be compared for each year.

The percentages between U.S. medal winners for each year and the percentages of U.S. athletes pictured and referred to in print never matched absolutely, but the were often very close. A difference of only 0.1% was calculated several times. The highest difference between medal winners and coverage was a 47.2% *overrepresentation* for pictures of black male athletes in 1968. The highest underrepresentation of black female athletes was only 8.6% for pictures in 1984. The group that was most often underrepresented was white male athletes. But they also had by far the highest number of medal winners, and there is only so much space in a magazine.

The data shows that women were underrepresented before the 1984 Summer Olympics, in both print and pictures. These differences are slight, but they are still there.

The passing of Title IX but the NCAA in 1972, legislating gender equality in collegiate athletics, may account for some of this coverage shift.

If there is a lack of accurate coverage of women and minorities in *Sports Illustrated*, it is not to be found through qualitative means. Qualitative studies, such as Duncan's investigation into suggestive pictures, may be the best method to determine bias—at least in Olympic coverage. (It is interesting to note that Kinnick's study, which did not find much difference in coverage between genders in newspapers' coverage of the 1996 Summer Olympics, also used quantitative methods.) A more telling study may be one that analyses the types of pictures used by *Sports Illustrated* or focuses on the language used to describe female or minority athletes. As for basic, raw amounts of Olympic coverage, there appears to be no discernable misrepresentation.

This study, though, was sensitive to outstanding achievements that can greatly affect coverage. Bob Beamon's world record-setting long jump in 1968 can explain the spike in pictures of black males for that year. (Although the Carlos/Smith award-stand fist-raising incident also resulted in more pictures.) Mark Spitz winning seven gold medals does much to increase coverage of white males (although white males were still underrepresented for that year, 1972), as does the domination of black U.S. sprinters in 1984 or the performances of women's gymnastics in 1996. It can be argued, though, that such accomplishments should be covered intensely by sports media.

It cannot be said, either, that the designations of race were 100 percent accurate. Page's book detailing black Olympians was very helpful, but it did not contain every black Olympic participant. The numbers for each race used in this study were used with great confidence, but they were not absolutely accurate. Often the race or nationality was

discovered in subsequent articles and previous designations were changed if not originally correct.

Also, the study did not look at *every* Olympic article written by *Sports Illustrated*. Every article in the universe as it was defined was coded, but that definition necessarily left out some articles.

This study does show that, quantitatively, for an event, such as the Olympics, which has a large number of female athletes, and a large and interested audience, there is a representative amount of coverage. Whether or not that coverage reflects the male hegemony explained be Davis was not contemplated in the study. Future research can determine if that is actually the case.

In terms of minorities, particularly black male athletes, *Sports Illustrated* demonstrates more than representative coverage. They can be said to "lead the field" in coverage of African Americans, as Francis has suggested. (I believe, though, that the same can be said for most sport magazines—another area for further research.) The question then, is whether *Sports Illustrated* only presents black athletes as one-sided, offering no insight into the person off of the court. The high coverage may perpetuate the stereotype of blacks as exceeding only in sport or entertainment—with no real threat to the power of corporate or political America. Does high sports coverage place blacks in an "accepted" role in society, with white spectators paying to see black athletes compete? "Aren't African Americans supposed to be good athletes?" Do sport publications keep this stereotypical thought in the minds of its readers? Is that a societal problem? Further research would do well to examine these issues.

Appendix 1

Data Tables
Summer Olympic Coverage by *Sports Illustrated*: 1960-1996

Table 1: Total number of U.S. medal winners compared with U.S. athletes pictured and referred to in print by race and gender

	Medal Winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	803 (48.7%)	221 (36.2%)	2228 (37.4%)
Black Males	268 (16.3%)	142 (23.2%)	1717 (28.8%)
Other Minority Males	19 (1.2%)	12 (2.0%)	203 (3.4%)
White Females	405 (24.6%)	159 (26.1%)	1409 (23.7%)
Black Females	**138 (8.4%)**	64 (10.5%)	**359 (6.0%)**
Other Minority Females	15 (0.9%)	7 (1.1%)	16 (0.3%)

* The above percentages (and in subsequent tables) also include 5 indeterminable pictures (0.8%) and 25 indeterminable print references (0.4%) for the whole study.

Table 2: Yearly comparison of U.S. medal winners to U.S. athletes pictured and referred to in print by race and gender

1960

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	71 (66.4%)	19 (51.4%)	94 (51.9%)
Black Males	14 (13.1%)	15 (40.5%)	70 (38.7%)
Other Minority Males	1 (0.9%)	0	0
White Females	**14 (13.1%)**	**1 (2.7%)**	**15 (8.3%)**
Black Females	**7 (6.5%)**	**2 (5.4%)**	**2 (1.1%)**
Other Minority Females	0	0	0

1964

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	91 (62.8%)	12 (66.7%)	146 (62.1%)
Black Males	19 (13.1%)	5 (27.8%)	56 (23.8%)
Other Minority Males	1 (0.7%)	1 (8.3%)	20 (8.5%)
White Females	**27 (18.6%)**	**0**	**12 (5.1%)**
Black Females	**7 (4.8%)**	**0**	**1 (0.4%)**
Other Minority Females	0	0	0

1968

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	77 (51.7%)	4 (22.2%)	37 (31.6%)
Black Males	29 (19.5%)	12 (66.7%)	42 (35.9%)
Other Minority Males	0	1 (5.6%)	32 (27.4%)
White Females	**36 (24.2%)**	**0**	**4 (3.4%)**
Black Females	**7 (5.7%)**	**1 (5.6%)**	**2 (1.7%)**
Other Minority Females	0	0	0

1972

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	102 (69.4%)	9 (50.0%)	231 (54.5%)
Black Males	18 (12.2%)	4 (22.2%)	52 (12.3%)
Other Minority Males	0	0	2 (0.5%)
White Females	24 (16.3%)	5 (27.8%)	137 (32.3%)
Black Females	**3 (2.0%)**	**0**	**1 (0.2%)**
Other Minority Females	0	0	0

1976

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	77 (50.0%)	19 (67.9%)	237 (60.9%)
Black Males	**29 (18.8%)**	**3 (10.7%)**	**53 (13.6%)**
Other Minority Males	1 (0.6%)	0	4 (1.0%)
White Females	**37 (24.0%)**	**6 (21.4%)**	**92 (23.7%)**
Black Females	**10 (6.5%)**	**0**	**3 (0.8%)**
Other Minority Females	0	0	0

1980

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males		2 (28.6%)	37 (19.6%)
Black Males		1 (14.3%)	56 (29.6%)
Other Minority Males		1 (14.3%)	33 (17.5%)
White Females		3 (42.9%)	60 (31.7%)
Black Females		0	3 (1.6%)
Other Minority Females		0	0

1984

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	150 (44.5%)	57 (40.1%)	302 (31.5%)
Black Males	**48 (14.2%)**	**15 (10.6%)**	356 (37.2%)
Other Minority Males	7 (2.1%)	0	0
White Females	**101 (30.0%)**	45 (31.7%)	**202 (21.1%)**
Black Females	**48 (14.2%)**	**18 (12.7%)**	**54 (5.6%)**
Other Minority Females	3 (0.9%)	6 (4.2%)	6 (0.6%)

1988

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	86 (46.7%)	32 (32.3%)	375 (33.9%)
Black Males	35 (19.0%)	24 (24.2%)	328 (29.7%)
Other Minority Males	5 (2.7%)	7 (7.1%)	59 (5.3%)
White Females	33 (17.9%)	22 (22.2%)	242 (21.9%)
Black Females	**24 (13.0%)**	**10 (10.1%)**	**90 (8.1%)**
Other Minority Females	1 (0.5%)	0	5 (0.5%)

1992

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	66 (33.8%)	43 (47.8%)	423 (33.9%)
Black Males	36 (18.5%)	28 (31.1%)	410 (32.9%)
Other Minority Males	4 (2.1%)	2 (2.2%)	33 (2.6%)
White Females	**56 (28.7%)**	28 (31.1%)	**259 (20.7%)**
Black Females	**27 (13.8%)**	17 (18.9%)	**120 (9.6%)**
Other Minority Females	6 (3.1%)	0	2 (0.2%)

1996

	Medal winners	Pictures	Print References
White Males	83 (35.9%)	24 (19.2%)	346 (31.1%)
Black Males	40 (17.3%)	35 (28.0%)	294 (26.4%)
Other Minority Males	1 (0.4%)	0	0
White Females	77 (33.3%)	49 (39.2%)	386 (34.7%)
Black Females	**25 (10.8%)**	16 (12.8%)	**83 (7.5%)**
Other Minority Females	5 (2.2%)	1 (0.8%)	3 (0.3%)

Appendix 2

Coding Sheet—Summer Olympic coverage of US athletes by *Sports Illustrated*

Article Title (Case #) _____ ___ 01-03/

Issue (yy/mm/dd) ______ 04-09/

Cover of Issue _ 10/

1 = Non-Olympic
2 = Non-US Olympic
3 = US Olympic White Male
4 = US Olympic Black Male
5 = US Olympic White Female
6 = US Olympic Black Female
7 = US Olympic Other Minority
8 = Non-Human Olympic

Pictures of US Athletes

White Males Pictured __ 11-12/

Black Males Pictured __ 13-14/

Other Minority Males Pictured __ 15-16/

White Females Pictured __ 17-18/

Black Females Pictured __ 19-20/

Other Minority Females Pictured __ 21-22/

Indeterminable Race/Gender/Nationality __ 23-24/

Names (if provided) _____

Print References to US Athletes

White Males __ 25-26/

Black Males __ 27-28/

Other Minority Males __ 29-30/

White Females __ 31-32/

Black Females __ 33-34/

Other Minority Females __ 35-36/

Indeterminable Gender/ Race/Nationality __ 37-38/

Names of Indeterminable Athletes _____

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'Pearl Harbor of the Cold War:'
Coverage of Post-Sputnik Science Reforms
In Four National Magazines

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Abstract

'Pearl Harbor of the Cold War:'
Coverage of Post-Sputnik Science Reforms
In Four National Magazines

Sputnik was a rallying cry for American science education. This study found eighty-six articles on this topic in four national magazines: *Popular Science*, *Scientific American*, *Life*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*, from October, 1957 to September, 1958. All called for immediate changes. The articles used examples of students and teachers, expert opinion, and scientific studies regarding attitudes and the state of science education in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

"October 4, 1957 will long be remembered not as the birthdate of Sputnik I, but as the day the American educators discovered science."[1]

Introduction

That day lives in infamy for United States science educators, the military establishment and the American psyche—the day the Soviet Union successfully launched the first human-made satellite, Sputnik. Its nickname meaning "Artificial Fellow Traveler Around the Earth," this 184-pound package circled the planet every ninety-six minutes and transmitted an undecipherable and eerie "beep, beep, beep." America's worst fears had been realized: the Soviets had beaten the United States to space. As one historian termed it, this was the "Pearl Harbor of the Cold War." As radio and television stations around the country scrambled to retransmit the signal for the public, its sound became the rallying cry for a revolution in American science education.[2]

The day after Sputnik's launch, banner headlines previously saved for such events as Pearl Harbor blazed across the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. *Newsweek* scrapped twenty tons of paper and changed the contents of that week's issue to include stories on "The Red Conquest," "The Meaning of the World," and "Why We Are Lagging."[3] Media also investigated and ridiculed the American educational complex they claimed was at the very heart of the problem, and few disagreed. It was not just about putting a satellite into orbit, but the military application of the technology, such as inter-continental ballistic missiles and the threat of the Cold War becoming a nuclear war America would lose without being able to fire a shot.

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[1] "Letters to the Editors," *Life*, 10 March 1958, 17.

[2] Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for the Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 6; Ibid; Edwin Diamond and Stephen Bates, "Sputnik," *American Heritage* 48 (October 1997): 84-93.

[3] Diamond and Bates, "Sputnik," 85.

President Eisenhower, the Congress, and the American people began serious educational reforms, especially in science, that in some ways have lasted to the present day.

Sputnik and Changes in Science Education

America's educational system had come under fire long before Sputnik. Following World War II many noticed a burgeoning, multi-faceted crisis. Since 1941 few new schools had been built, and teachers were leaving the field for lucrative jobs in the booming post-war economy. Concerns were building that more skilled workers, especially scientists, would be needed as the Cold War progressed.

The educational philosophies of the day were Progressive Education, which stressed practical learning with a moral sense, and the life-adjustment movement that advocated bringing education more in line with the student's everyday experiences and needs.[4] Critics claimed that educators were too worried about student social development and failed to teach basic knowledge in English, literature, math, and science. In doing so, the educational system as a whole denied many students access to quality post-secondary colleges and universities.[5] As student grades plummeted, the public and its leaders began to voice their concerns. One critic said, "Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, education is too important to be left to the educators. It must concern us all."[6]

Science may not have been discussed often in schools, but it received regular media attention. In a longitudinal study of coverage in four metropolitan newspapers, researchers

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[4] Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 10-16.

[5] Clowse, "Brainpower for the Cold War" 28-29.

[6] Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 52.

found media performing a watchdog function in reporting on science. They also found that the number of science stories more than doubled from 1951 to 1961 (pre- and post-Sputnik).[7]

In the springs of 1957 and 1958 the National Association of Science Writers commissioned two studies to gauge sentiment about science in the news. In perhaps the first survey based on public opinion sampling techniques, the public was found to have enormous interest in science information, especially in regard to medical and health stories. The percentage of respondents saying they had heard something about and knew the purpose of satellite launchings tripled after Sputnik, from 21 to 64 percent. The analysis made special note of the implications for the "space age," including the finding that three-quarters of the nation's daily newspapers increased the space allotted to science stories by 50 percent after Sputnik.[8]

Another analysis of the same data found that while magazines and newspapers were preferred choices for science news, magazines were perceived as neither primarily for entertainment nor for news. However, neither newspapers nor magazines were found to develop "deep abstract scientific concepts" in the public in a short amount of time.[9]

By the time of Sputnik, Americans had shown their interest in science news and read new mixtures of science, militarism, nationalism, and politics as they sought information after the launch. In two separate studies, researchers examined magazines and newspapers for their coverage of Sputnik and the mostly political aftermath. The first study quantitatively analyzed *U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek,* and *Time* magazines from September through December 1957 (included was coverage of Sputnik II, the successor to Sputnik launched one

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[7] Bruce J. Cole, "Trends in Science and Conflict Coverage in Four Metropolitan Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 52 (Autumn 1975): 465-471.

[8] Hillier Krieghbaum, "Public Interest in Science News," *Science* 129 (April 24, 1959): 1092-1095.

[9] Earl Ubell, "Science in the Press: Newspapers vs. Magazines," *Journalism Quarterly* 40 (Summer 1963): 293-299.

month later in November 1957).[10] The second study qualitatively investigated coverage and commentary in the *New York Times, St. Louis Dispatch,* and *Los Angeles Times* during the first four weeks of Sputnik's flight, from October 4 to 31, 1957.[11]

The three magazines were found to treat the "space race" very differently. *U.S. News and World Report* featured headlines that perpetuated the space race concept, minimized Soviet achievements, and framed the discussion such that the United States was not losing the space race, but that "it must not lose."[12] *Newsweek* was found not to be focused so much on the space race, but the exploration of space. *Time*'s coverage was information-oriented, with little mention of the space race or Soviets.

Unlike the diversity found in those magazines, the three newspapers' coverage of Sputnik was found to be remarkably similar in their dark and depressive tones. It was described as creating dramas of defeat, mortification, and dream and dread. These newspapers provided consistent critiques of U.S. policy, most woven into American's existing fears about Soviet aggression and technological superiority.[13]

Immediately after Sputnik's launch, Americans expressed their fears about the impact and implications of this technological feat. However, President Eisenhower was not concerned, saying at a press conference, "So far as the satellite itself is concerned, that does not raise my apprehensions, not one iota." Eleven days after the launch he met with his Science Advisory

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[10] Cheryl L. Marlin, "Space Race Propaganda: U.S. Coverage of the Soviet Sputniks in 1957," *Journalism Quarterly* 64 (Spring 1987): 544-549, 559.

[11] Jake Lule, "Roots of the Space Race: Sputnik and the Language of U.S. News in 1957," *Journalism Quarterly* 68 (Spring/Summer 1991): 76-86.

[12] Marlin, "Space Race Propaganda" 549.

[13] Lule, "Roots of the Space Race."

Committee, described by one historian as "the most important meeting Eisenhower held in the aftermath of Sputnik." They discussed how the Soviets stressed studying and enjoying science to their young students, while most Americans seemed complacent with the advantages science had thus far provided. All agreed that the role of science had to be increased not only in education, but in government research and society, and that Sputnik was the perfect catalyst.[14]

Educators wanted to be taken seriously by Congress for years, but there was an inherent conflict between state and federal control of curricula and funds. In late January, 1958, a bill to provide vastly increased funds for education was introduced, and Eisenhower delivered a special message on education to Congress. Many feared the successful launch of America's first satellite, Explorer, would slow or halt efforts for educational reform and funding. Subsequent Senate hearings on education were marked by repeated denigration of the Progressive Education philosophy, most notably by the famed rocket scientist Wernher von Braun.[15] Later that year Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act into law, which authorized spending an unprecedented one billion dollars within four years on student loans, graduate fellowships, classroom equipment, and research. *The Nation* wrote that "the bill does, at last crack the ice of resistance to federal aid to education . . . [but] the crack is so tiny it must be widened very soon if it is not to freeze solid again."[16]

Although studies exist on media coverage of Sputnik, no study has examined coverage of the educational reforms, especially in science, called for after the satellite's launch. As previously discussed, these reforms were the result of many different social, military, and

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[14] Devine, "The Sputnik Challenge" 8, 12, 13-15.

[15] Clowse, "Brainpower for the Cold War" 78, 82, 84.

[16] Devine, "The Sputnik Challenge" 164-165.

political pressures. Science educators and policy makers have recently recommitted themselves and their resources to science literacy for all Americans in the 21st century.[17] The first reforms in this area occurred during the post-Sputnik era. An analysis of articles and commentary that appeared in magazines of that time would provide a unique perspective on the mindset and actions of those media, the Eisenhower administration, and everyday America in the late 1950s related to science educational reform.

Research Questions

This study will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. How many articles were published regarding science education reform during the time period studied, and where were they placed in the publication?
2. How was science education reform discussed, and what language was used?
3. What social, technical, military and/or political tone was taken?

Method and Quantitative Findings

This study examined coverage of science education reforms for one year after Sputnik's launch, from October, 1957 to September, 1958, in four national magazines. Two were popular science magazines of the time, *Scientific American* and *Popular Science* (both published monthly), and two were popular general news and information magazines, the *Saturday Evening Post* (published two times a month) and *Life* (published fourteen times a year). These particular publications were chosen as a convenience sample for their name recognition, general appeal,

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[17] National Academy of Sciences, *National Science Education Standards* (Washington D.C.: National Academy Press, 1996); American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Benchmarks for Science Literacy: Project 2061* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

and relevance to the topic. However, each had a very high circulation and was among the highest read publications of its day.[18] Although news magazines, such as *Time*, and newspapers, like the *New York Times*, have been previously studied in regard to Sputnik, that research did not include articles on science education reform.[19] It was thought that magazines would provide a better outlet for long, in-depth discussions of policy and politics.

In all, eighty-six articles, editorials, columns, and Letters to the Editor discussed science education and science reform from October 1957 to September 1958 in *Scientific American*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Popular Science* and *Life*. (See Table 1.) Only *Popular Science* and *Life* published articles related to science education in October, 1957.[20] *Life* had a news story about Sputnik in the issue immediately following the launch; however, the first mention of science education reform came the next week in the special section, "The Feat that Shook the Earth."[21] It is doubtful the editor of *Popular Science* knew of the science education article's serendipitous significance when the October, 1957 issue was readied for newsstands. *Scientific American* published an article in their November issue, and the *Saturday Evening Post* published an editorial. The latter published the least amount of science education reform articles of any

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[18] The circulations for 1957 were as follows: *Scientific American*: 168,649; *Popular Science*: 1,224,223; *Saturday Evening Post*: 5,152,891; and *Life*: 5,851,168. *N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals 1958* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc, 1958), 1554 p.; The circulations for 1958 were as follows: *Scientific American*: 203,529; *Popular Science*: 1,142,094; *Saturday Evening Post*: 5,709,725; and *Life*: 6,041,778. *N.W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals 1959* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc, 1959), 1558 p. (Ayer circulation numbers are from previous year.)

[19] During this time, the general news periodicals under study, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Life*, had better circulations than the dedicated news magazines. 1957 circulation for *Time*: 2,170,722; *Newsweek*: 1,119,125; *U.S. News and World Report*: 922,543. *N.W. Ayer & Sons*, 1958. 1958 circulation for *Time*: 2,282,307; *Newsweek*: 1,239,564; *U.S. News and World Report*: 1,043,749. *N.W. Ayer & Sons*, 1959.

[20] "How well does your youngster's school teach science?" *Popular Science*, October 1957, 91-93, 228-232; Dr. C. C. Furnas, "Why did U.S. lose the race?" *Life*, 21 October 1957, 22-23.

[21] *Life*, 21 October 1957, 19.

sampled magazine; their entire coverage was one article in May 1958 and four editorials from November 1957 through August 1958.

Table 1. Total Number of Articles mentioning Science Education Reform, by Magazine

Magazine	*n* Articles	*n* Editorials	*n* Letters to the Editor	*n* Columns and Departments	N (Articles and Non-Articles)
Scientific American	5	0	0	1	6
Popular Science	4	0	3	1	8
Saturday Evening Post	1	4	0	0	5
Life	13	4	50	0	67
Total	23	8	53	2	86

To measure the placement of articles in the publication, a placement index was created for each article.[22] Editorials, columns, and letters to the editor were not included in this index calculation, although they were included in the Findings section. Each article's placement index was averaged into an overall placement index, which measures how close to the front of those magazines science education reform articles appeared. The closer the index is to 1.0, the closer the articles to the front of the magazine. (See Table 2.)

Overall, articles in these magazines fared well in terms of placement and, therefore, probably in perceived importance. In *Scientific American*, *Popular Science*, and *Life*, on average, articles on science education reform were published in the first half of all articles for

[22] The placement of each article in the publication was recorded. For example, if there were eight articles and the article in question was the first article, then 1/8 was written in the author's notes. To convert this to a number that would reflect how soon it appeared relative to the other articles, this shorthand was changed to start counting down from the first article. Thus, for this example, the new shorthand would be 8/8. Each shorthand fraction was turned into a decimal; 8/8=1.0. This system can numerically shown how close to the front of the

those issues. The index number for the *Saturday Evening Post* is misleading, since only one article was published during the sample period.

Table 2. Placement Indexes in regard to Science Education Reform Articles

Magazine	Placement Index	S.D.
Scientific American	.6875	.3687
Popular Science	.8155	.2116
Saturday Evening Post	.8462	n/a
Life	.5073	.3863

Findings

The first mentions of Sputnik and science education reform were hurried and wide-sweeping. Two weeks after the launch of Sputnik, the chancellor of the University of Buffalo, Dr. C. C. Furnas, wrote in *Life*, "We had the brains, we had the know-how, we had the money. . . . Let us not pretend that Sputnik is anything but a defeat for the U.S. . . . We must give much more aid and encouragement to our education institutions in turning out more engineers and scientists."[23] A *Life* editorial on November 4, 1957 described how President Eisenhower would tour the country and "walk down Main Street," presumably meaning to talk with regular folks. Among other topics, the speeches were to cover the need for increased science efforts "to counter the widespread feeling that the White House has been in a sort of national vacuum in the post-

magazine the article was placed. The individual article indexes were averaged for each magazine to create a placement index for that magazine.

[23] Furnas, "Why did U.S. Lose the Race?" 22-23.

Sputnik crisis and to give Main Street a more precise and sober sense of its danger . . . and of what must be done."[24]

At the center of the crisis was the comparison of the educational systems of "Main Street" America and other NATO countries and how they fared against that of the Soviets, especially as related to the sciences. In the same editorial mentioned above, *Life* called "the most alarming statistic . . . perhaps of the decade" the findings of a Senate report to NATO that the Soviet Union graduated scientists twice as fast as any NATO country, and that the Soviets had "more scientifically trained people than any Western nation."[25] Before substantive discussion of improved education policy would be possible, however, the need was expressed to increase and improve the public's perception of scientists, especially as Cold War investigations placed them under close scrutiny. "At a time when Russia was building a scientific elite, we were treating our patriotic scientists with hostility and suspicion. No one can accurately estimate the amount of damage that was done."[26]

In a *Life* interview, famed rocket scientist Wernher von Braun said, "Something drastic must be done to raise the status of scientists in the public eye in this country. In Europe a professor is considered quite a man. But here, whenever a scientist achieves some eminence they throw rocks at him." He said he received about ten fan letters each day, half from young people interested in rocketry—he told them "to hit math and physics heavily." Von Braun said

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[24] Editorial, "The President and the Crisis: His Speeches will be Welcome, but Here is Where Initiative is Needed at Once," *Life*, 4 November 1957, 40.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Furnas, "Why did U.S. Lose the Race?" 22-23.

that, typically, low salaries lured people away from science. "We can't knight them, but we can give them more money."[27]

The *Saturday Evening Post* first mentioned science after the launch of Sputnik with an editorial entitled, "Where Do Our Young People Get Such Crazy Ideas About What Scientists Do?" Quoting from a recent study conducted by Margaret Mead in the magazine *Science*, some American high-school students said a scientist neglected his family, had no social life, and "bores his wife, his children and their friends . . . with incessant talk that no one can understand." Others said a scientist was "devoted, courageous . . . [and] dedicated man who works not for money or fame . . . but for the benefit of mankind and the welfare of his country." When asked if they would be interested in being a scientist or marrying one, the male and female high-school students exclaimed, "Absolutely no!"[28] This was supported in a *Scientific American* survey from October 1957 in which 68 percent of teenagers said they would not want to be a scientist. Another survey a year later found that 25 percent of high-school students found scientists as a group "'more than a little bit odd.'"[29]

The American public shared many of those students' ignorance and distrust of scientists— in a *Life* poll only 10 percent could name two famous scientists, and many stated negative opinions. "There's too many scientists around now. If we should get too overrun with them they'll just get in each other's way." Americans felt Sputnik signified a growing Soviet threat, but that the United States could win a war if need be. In fact, before Sputnik, Americans

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[27] Richard B. Stolley, "Plain Talk from von Braun," *Life*, 18 November 1957, 136.

[28] Editorial, "Where Do Our Young People Get Such Crazy Ideas About What Scientists Do?" *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 November 1957, 10.

[29] H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, "Teenage Attitudes," *Scientific American* , June 1958, 28.

said they wanted to stay out of war; after Sputnik the defense race was their first concern, yet more than one-third rated Soviet teaching superior in mathematics and science.[30]

Examining the "Crisis in Education"

When discussions about Western science education reform did take place, it was in this schizophrenic atmosphere of distrust for both Western and Soviet scientists and the urgent need for systemic change. Several articles compared the educational systems of the United States and the Soviet Union, all stressing the Soviet's harshness and success while framing United States students as lazy and pandered. In March, 1958, *Life* began what they called an "urgent . . . series" called "Crisis in Education." The five-part series compared students in the United States and the Soviet Union, showcased an American science teacher, looked at the world of gifted children, examined new courses in science education, and gave a blueprint for a high school curriculum. In the introduction *Life* listed the "salient points of the crisis:" schools were overcrowded, teachers were poorly paid, schools "have gone wild" with elective courses, "the nation's stupid children get far better care than the bright," there was no consensus among higher educators, and education standards "are shockingly low."[31]

The first *Life* installment compared two 16-year-old high school students, Stephen in Chicago and Alexei in Moscow. "Stephen is an average student . . . the kind of well-adjusted youngster U.S. public schools are proud of producing. Alexei is hard-working, aggressive . . . the kind of student that the Russian system ruthlessly sets out to produce." Stephen did not know what he would do after high school; Alexei "is filled with a fierce determination to get to college

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[30] Paul O'Neil, "U.S. Change of Mind," *Life*, 3 March 1958, 91-100; Letters to the Editors, "Russia's Satellite," *Life*, 11 November 1957, 18; Ibid, 96.

[31] "Crisis in Education," *Life*, 24 March 1958, 25.

and become a physicist." Only a third of Soviet students finished their ten years of education. However, students who displayed intellectual prowess were sent to institutes of higher education with the Soviet pay incentive system: the better their grades, the more they were paid. [32]

Life's vivid pictures illustrated typical school days for the young men. Alexei was in school six days a week and needed an 'A' in Behavior or could forget college plans. Women taught all his classes, which included physics and shop. He was shown at a classical concert, playing chess, and playing the piano, for which he found at least an hour each day. However, "his interest in girls, by U.S. teen-age standards, has been slow in developing."[33] Not so with Stephen, who walked to school every day with his girlfriend. There, "the intellectual application expected of him is moderate." Stephen was shown returning from the blackboard, laughing, after having difficulty with a geometry problem; receiving geometry tutoring; practicing as part of the swim team; and participating in after-school dancing at the Y. M. C. A.[34]

The "Crisis in Education" second installment focused on Donald Pearson, a Portland, Oregon high-school science teacher and his daily struggle to be an energized instructor while overworked and underpaid. Because of the exploding student population, he and other teachers often taught in ill-equipped portable classrooms and pulled double teaching shifts. Seventy-five percent of all male teachers "moonlighted" in other jobs to help make up for the low pay; Pearson ran a night school class and drove a bus. (One picture showed him playing with his four children in their bare living room—he could not afford to buy furniture.) Teachers were also expected to keep accurate records, janitor, chaperone school events, and direct traffic. "They

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[32] "Schoolboys Point Up a U.S. Weakness," *Life*, 24 March 1958, 27.

[33] "In U.S.S.R.: Rough Haul All The Way, " *Life*, 24 March 1958, 28-29; "A Purpose in Fun, too," *Life*, 24 March 1958, 30.

[34] "In U.S.: Relaxed Studies," *Life*, 24 March 1948, 31-34.

become public drudges, forced to do peripheral work that a community would not expect of any other professional people."[35]

The final three series installments examined gifted children, plans for new schools, and family educational support, respectively. "The Waste of Fine Minds" described the failure of education for a sixth-grader with an I.Q. of 162 who, nonetheless, was a struggling student. Part four specifically targeted the newfound interest in science education, with pictures of science fairs and astronomy students wearing cardboard helmets with pipe-cleaner antennae. A former Harvard University president outlined his vision for U.S. education: "giving the best minds a chance for unhampered intellectual growth, and yet still preserving its traditional democratic values." Students were classified as bright, average, or slow, and placed in a certain curriculum. At graduation, bright students went "to college," average students "to building construction," and slow students "to Joe's Garage." The final installment called for parental involvement in schools and their children's education. As an apparent example, *Life* described the lives of a Massachusetts couple with eight children. Considering he has a Ph.D. and she an M.A., they were described as "not 'average' parents."[36]

The series also included a stinging critique of the American educational system titled "It's Time to Close Our Carnival" by Sloan Wilson, former director of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. He cited that only 12.5 percent of students studied advanced mathematics, 25 percent studied physics, and fewer than 15 percent of students studied

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[35] "An Underdog Profession Imperils the Schools," *Life*, 31 March 1948, 93-101; Ibid, 95.

[36] "The Waste of Fine Minds," *Life*, 7 April 1958, 89; "Tryouts for Good Ideas," *Life*, 14 April 1958, 117; "Famous Educator's Plan for a School that will Advance Students According to Ability," *Life*, 14 April 1958, 120-121; "Family Zest for Learning," *Life*, 21 April 1958, 103.

a foreign language. "Ten million Russians are studying English, but only 8,000 Americans are studying Russian."[37]

After the series' publication, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, a department of the National Education Association, sent a letter to its 20,000 members "complaining of *Life's* series and urging members to threaten cancellation of school subscriptions to *Life* and also to *Time* 'as long as they have an attitude and policy inimical to education.'" *Life* received 350 letters of protest from principals. In an ingenious public relations move, the magazine published editorial reaction to the letter from newspapers nationwide; the Detroit Free Press wrote, "By threatening a ban . . . the Association . . . exhibits motives no less base than those of a frightened but ruthless dictator." As editorial comment to a letter to the editor, *Life* printed excerpts of Wisconsin Senator William Proxmire's speech in the Senate chambers against the suggested Association ban. "The open mind and the right to disagree are fundamental to American freedom. It is shocking that an executive secretary of a great educational association would subvert this principle by suggesting the prohibition of school distribution of two of America's great magazines, because he disagrees with the policies they propose."[38]

American Science Education on Trial

Teachers, students, parents, and the nation as a whole were indicted. Sloan quoted a New York City junior high school principal who had "'great pangs of pedagogical conscience'" when signing diplomas, knowing that the student in question was not ready to advance. "Instead of

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[37] Sloan Wilson, "It's Time to Close Our Carnival," *Life*, 24 March 1958, 36.

[38] "Reaction to a Letter," *Life*, 28 April 1958, 16; "Letters to the Editors," *Life*, 19 May 1958, 13.

trying to find students to fit a rigid curriculum, the schools decided to try to hand-tailor a course of instruction for each child. . . .It is hard to deny that America's schools . . . have degenerated into a system for coddling and entertaining the mediocre."[39]

Educators, the military, and government officials sharply disagreed on how to best improve America's science education programs. Suggestions included the establishment of gifted-only schools, starting gifted programs in existing schools, increasing teaching eligibility requirements for teachers, and the straight-out doubling of teacher salaries. One idea to pay for increased science education costs involved giving taxpayers credit for the full amount of their local school's budget increase. One letter to the editor of *Life* wholeheartedly agreed with this plan, while another asked, "How asinine can you get? Really! Giving each of the 48 (*sic*) states carte blanche to dip into the federal till!"[40]

Popular Science also featured a series on science education, which stressed that "to help him climb toward success he needs sound training in science and mathematics." The article included a "report card" with questions for parents to take to their schools and ask administrators how their science programs fared. Suggestions for getting things done included the need to work with a group, go through channels and "don't act like a crank."[41] With a look at "the current ferment in science education," *Scientific American* featured articles on the importance of teaching physics and mathematics in elementary schools. New and exciting curricula were previewed; however, there was disagreement among these educators, as well. Old systems

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[39] Ibid, 37.

[40] "Educators: Please for Better Math and U.S. Billions," *Life*, 13 January 1958, 18-19; Editorial, "A Bright Idea for our Schools," *Life*, 20 January 1958, 26; Letters to the Editor, "A Bright Idea for Schools," *Life*, 10 February 1958, 10.

[41] John Kord Lagemann, "How Well Does Your Youngster's School Teach Science," *Popular Science*, October 1957, 91-92, 228-232; John Kord Lagemann, "How Good Are the Science Labs in Your Youngster's School," *Popular Science*, November 1957, 155-157, 258; Lagemann, "Teach Science," 232.

become entrenched, while new educational initiatives require new textbooks, updated facilities, and increased budgets.[42]

The call for increased science education resulted in a defensive response from those in the humanities, fearing budget cutbacks or the removal of their programs altogether. A *Saturday Evening Post* author called for "a truce to the nonsense on both sides," writing that educated people must recognize the need for both science and the humanities. Editorials supported this position, but one added that if sacrifices needed to be made "surely there are plenty of expendable courses in fold dancing [and] finger painting." A Letter to the Editor accused *Life* of blatant bias toward science education.[43]

Political Ideology and Science Education

Politics lay at the heart of comparing the American and Soviet educational systems. Admiral H. G. Rickover, best known for introducing the nuclear submarine into active service, agreed with the general consensus that America was educationally complacent and that the Soviets deserved credit. "For rightly, Sputnik has from the first been seen as a triumph of Russian education. It has surprised us to find that Russia's intellectual elite does highly competent work despite authoritarian control." In *Popular Science's* "Talk Back" section a reader praised Richover's article, writing "maybe Sputnik has been a blessing—stimulating our thinking and forcing us to take stock of ourselves." Another wrote, "I'm getting a little tired of

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[42] Walter C. Michels, "The Teaching of Elementary Physics," *Scientific American*, April 1958, 57-64; E. P. Rosenbaum, "The Teaching of Elementary Mathematics," *Scientific American*, May 1958, 64-73.

[43] Jacques Barzun, "Science vs. The Humanities," *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 April 1958, 26; Editorial, "Classical Training Does No Harm, Even to Young Scientists," *Saturday Evening Post*, 8 February 1958, 10; Editorial, "Science vs. Culture: A Phony War," *Life*, 17 February 1958, 38; Letters to the Editors, "Science vs. Culture," *Life*, 10 March 1958, 17.

articles like Adm. Richover's . . . What would have been written if we had launched the first satellite?"[44]

In comparing the high-school boys, *Life* wrote that the American system, "for all its laxness," developed leadership qualities, whereas the Soviet system, "for all its stern virtues . . . develops subservience to an undemocratic state." One author believed the growing bureaucracy of Communism would eventually stifle and choke successful Soviet scientific efforts.[45]

Almost a year after Sputnik's launch, a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial called for calm in the rush to establish more and better science education programs in the threatening face of Communism. "Russian intellectual capabilities, particularly in the sciences, have startled Americans, as if these achievements were all the product of Communism." Instead of throwing money at the problem with hurriedly-assembled programs, the editorial suggested remembering the fundamentals: the German physicist Roentgen discovered X-rays without an extravagant lab and told Americans, "What money will buy, your scientists possess."[46]

Conclusions

Fear is a powerful motivator, and proved such for America in the late 1950s following the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union. Many factors converged to create the situation in science education that existed prior to the successful launch of that satellite. These factors included the post-WWII attitudes of America; the escalating fear of a nuclear war with the Soviets; the lack of

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[44] H. G. Rickover, "Russian Schools Can Teach Us a Lesson," *Popular Science*, March 1958, 107; "PS Readers Talk Back," *Popular Science*, June 1958, 4.

[45] "Schoolboys Point," *Life*, 24 March 1958, 27; Tom Margerison, "How Communism Threatens Russian Science," *Popular Science*, February 1958, 102.

[46] Editorial, "Let's Try Not to be Hysterical About Scientific Education," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 August, 1958, 10.

respect for science, scientists and their goals; and a general ambivalence by the American public to the need for scientific innovation. Science education rode the wave of panic that swept the nation.

The magazine coverage of the post-Sputnik science education reforms in this study seemed somewhat sensational, but impassioned perspectives of politicians and the public were common. *Life* did an outstanding job of covering this topic, publishing the most articles while taking the strongest editorial stance of the sampled magazines; however, that magazine's contrast of Stephan and Alexei seemed unrepresentative and biased. In contrast, *Popular Science's* coverage was relatively weak compared to *Life's* system-wide indictments, instead providing only proactive suggestions for parents. *Scientific American* and the *Saturday Evening Post* took more analytic approaches, citing scientific studies and the importance of science education. It is surprising that the *Saturday Evening Post* published only one article during the sample period specifically about science education reform, instead publishing editorials.

It is an ideological irony that a capitalist state looked to its mortal enemy of communism for clues on how to repair what was obviously a broken system of not just education or science education, but of the very *perception* of science. Although Soviet teachers had high student expectations, students had high pay and better Communist party status as more persuasive incentives for hard work. Besides becoming a party official, there were few high-paying careers in the Soviet world. American students saw no need to take what were considered "hard" classes for a career that held little money and less prestige when high-paying sales jobs were plentiful. Politics often acts as a social catalyst. In this situation the role of politics at every level of government, both in the United States and in the Soviet Union, was undeniably powerful and influential.

There is no doubt that science education, and education generally, is far better today because of the reforms instituted in reaction to Sputnik and the perceived Soviet threat. Unfortunately, it seems public perceptions of science have changed little since the late 1950s, and innovative science education programs still have uphill funding battles. But when the "space race" began, science education was brought, for the first time, to the forefront of public discussion, and magazines like those in this study greatly contributed to this discourse. As a small globe that orbited a larger one, the "little traveler" called Sputnik went a long way in forever and irrevocably changing science education in the United States.

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Lillian Ross: Pioneer of Literary Journalism

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ABSTRACT

Lillian Ross: Pioneer of Literary Journalism

Lillian Ross has reported for *The New Yorker* for more than 50 years. This paper argues that Ross has not been given sufficient credit for her contributions to the style known as literary journalism. Ross used dialogue and the telling of stories through scenes before other writers sometimes given credit for introducing such techniques. She also pioneered the non-fiction novel form in her book *Picture* — years before Capote's *In Cold Blood*. Ross stands apart from many other literary journalists with her emphasis on accuracy, her avoidance of reconstructed dialogue, and her disdain for attempts to report the thoughts of subjects.

Lillian Ross: Pioneer of Literary Journalism

Introduction

Lillian Ross has reported for *The New Yorker* for more than 50 years.[1] During that time, she wrote a remarkable portrait of Ernest Hemingway,[2] chronicled the making of a motion picture (*The Red Badge of Courage*),[3] and authored a number of pieces that have since appeared in collections of the best essays or outstanding reporting.[4] Two of her books, *Picture*[5] and *Reporting*,[6] appeared on a list of the 100 top works of journalism of the twentieth century.[7] *Picture* was released in a Modern Library version in 1997 — an acknowledgement that it is a classic.[8] She recently broke her pattern of avoiding the first person in her reporting by writing a memoir detailing her 40-year love affair with William Shawn, the editor of *The New Yorker*.[9] Ross continues to report for *The New Yorker*, contributing recent "Talk of the Town" pieces on high school students preparing for a dance[10] and a Friar's Club roast of comedian Jerry Stiller.[11]

Despite her significant contributions to journalism, there has been little scholarly attention paid to Ross. This paper argues that Ross has not been given sufficient credit for her contributions to journalism and to the style known as The New Journalism, or, as it is more recently known, literary journalism. For instance, her innovations in reporting in scenes and with dialogue were downplayed by Tom Wolfe in his book *The New Journalism*.[12] Wolfe makes it appear that Gay Talese introduced dialogue into factual magazine reporting, when in fact Ross had used it years before. Wolfe

discusses scene-by-scene construction as one of four major techniques of the New Journalism but fails to acknowledge that Ross was using scenes as the primary component of many of her pieces throughout the 1950s.

Ross's use of a novelistic approach in the book *Picture* is also sometimes overlooked by writers discussing the nonfiction novel. For instance, Ben Yagoda has written that no one wrote a nonfiction book in the form of a novel between John Hersey's *Hiroshima* and Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*.[13]

This paper outlines Ross's major techniques of reporting, analyzes her contributions to the methods of literary journalism, and discusses some controversies that her approach to reporting has inspired.

Background and Influences

Lillian Ross was born June 8, 1927, in Syracuse, New York. Ross has said that ever since her childhood she felt like an observer. In the sixth grade, she started writing for her school newspaper. She went on a school trip to *The New York Times* and became attracted to the smells of the makeup tables and Linotype machines. She began skipping school to visit newspapers, becoming friends with Lewis Gannett, book critic of *The New York Herald Tribune*.[14]

Her first paying journalism job was with a new publication, the *Chinese Student Magazine*. She then took a position with Ralph Ingersoll's advertising-free daily newspaper *PM*, where she worked in the morgue, filing clippings from newspapers and magazines. She eventually started writing stories for the newspaper's Sunday magazine.

She was hired by William Shawn in February, 1945, to be a reporter for *The New Yorker*.[15] The magazine was hiring women because so many men

were away at the war. Only three women had been hired as reporters for the magazine before Ross. She started out writing "Talk of the Town" pieces, with one of her first focusing on Harry Truman's early work as a haberdasher. Her first byline appeared on a 1946 article that dealt with the fate of a yacht built and formerly owned by Kaiser Wilhelm.[16]

The New Yorker was a magazine that encouraged strong writing and experimentation with written forms. Shawn "had been given carte blanche by Harold Ross to develop what was become the magazine's great tradition of literary journalism — original ways of writing nonfiction stories, including spectacular and innovative reporting about the war."[17]

Ross has said the major influences on her at *The New Yorker* were Joseph Mitchell and A. J. Liebling.[18] She may have been influenced by Mitchell's use of dialogue and extended monologue in pieces such as "The Rivermen," although much of the piece is conventional exposition.[19] Mitchell also used dialogue in the section titled "Mazie" in McSorley's Wonderful Saloon.[20]

Ross may not have picked up specific techniques from Mitchell and Liebling as much as she did the importance of thorough reporting, the notion of respect for the subjects you are writing about, and the value of a tasteful, literary writing style. In the introduction to her book *Takes*, Ross says she admired the transparency of Mitchell's style and the undercurrents of humor in his writing.[21]

Ross's list of great reporters from the past also includes John Aubrey, Daniel Defoe, Ivan Turgenev, and Henry Mayhew, writers whom she admires for focusing on real people in real situations without drawing attention to themselves.[22]

Ross also developed a strong working relationship with William Shawn, who was managing editor of *The New Yorker* when she was hired and became editor in 1952. It was Shawn who suggested that she focus her famous piece on Hemingway on his two-day visit in New York, and that she change the focus of her reporting on John Huston's making of *The Red Badge of Courage* from Huston to the movie itself.

Two Classic Pieces — "Portrait of Hemingway" and *Picture*

Ross first got to know Ernest Hemingway when she was writing a profile of Sidney Franklin, a bullfighter who had grown up in Brooklyn.[23] She had asked for Hemingway's help with the article, and he had invited her to visit him at a tourist cabin in Ketchum, Idaho, where he was on a hunting trip. Some time later, Hemingway and his wife let Ross know they would be making a visit to New York. Ross accompanied Hemingway during most of his two-day visit and wrote an article detailing what happened.

The piece appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1950.[24] It described Hemingway and his wife Mary arriving at their room in the Sherry-Netherland hotel and having drinks with their friend Marlene Dietrich, Hemingway shopping for a coat at Abercrombie & Fitch, and the couple, along with Hemingway's son Patrick, looking at paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The article had a narrative structure and was made up almost entirely of scenes. It included numerous passages of extended dialogue.

The article was a more candid and intimate view of a well-known person than readers were accustomed to seeing. It captured Hemingway's joking manner of speaking, as when he said of a fellow passenger, "He read book all way up on plane."[25] Even Hemingway's wife spoke that way at

times: "Papa, please get glasses fixed."[26] The piece showed a more vulnerable Hemingway than the hunter, fisherman, and war hero typically presented in magazines such as *Esquire*. At one point, the group emerges onto a New York street and finds that it is raining. Hemingway, the man who was severely wounded by artillery fire in World War I and hunted lions in Africa, says, "Goddam, I hate to get wet."[27]

Hemingway reviewed the piece beforehand and made a few corrections. When the article came out, some readers and critics viewed it as a devastating portrayal of Hemingway. Martha Gellhorn, one of Hemingway's former wives, said the piece made Hemingway look like a fool.[28] At the same time, others thought it was a fair and accurate portrayal and liked it. James Thurber, the well-known *New Yorker* writer, praised the piece in a letter to Harold Ross, then editor of the magazine (who was not related to Lillian Ross). Thurber called the article "a refreshing new kind of profile form by a writer who showed evidence of being able to do anything from a Talk story to a three-act play."[29]

Shortly after the Hemingway piece came out, Lillian Ross asked to be assigned to write a profile of film director John Huston, whom she had met when he was in New York to receive an award. Huston was getting ready to make a motion picture of Stephen Crane's novel *The Red Badge of Courage*. After arriving in Hollywood, Ross talked to Shawn by telephone and he suggested writing a profile of the motion picture rather than a profile of Huston. With Huston's consent, she became a regular observer of the movie-making process, spending a great deal of time with Huston and others involved in the film. At some early stage in the process, she began to see that the story could be told in a form very similar to a fiction novel.

She wrote to Shawn, "if the story turns out be what I think it is, it's really almost a book, a kind of novel-like book because of the way the characters may develop and the variety of relationships that exist among them. I don't know whether this sort of thing has ever been done before, but I don't see why I shouldn't try to do a fact piece in novel form, or maybe a novel in fact form. It's so exciting to think about. It's almost as though the subject material calls for that kind of form."[30]

She spent a year and a halí working on this piece. It was published in May and June of 1952 as a five-part series titled "No. 1512" after the M-G-M production number for the film.[31]

The series, later published as the book *Picture*,[32] tells of Huston's interactions with actors, including Audie Murphy and Bill Mauldin, as well as various executives at the M-G-M studio. The book was made up almost entirely of scenes, including Huston directing his actors out-of-doors, Huston and producer Gottfried Reinhardt working on the script, Huston and Reinhardt looking at daily rushes of the film, and the first showing of the film to a preview audience. It comes as something as a shock to find out at the end that Ross has spend an entire book documenting the making of a motion picture that was not a great success — but that is perhaps one of the differences between a factual book and a work of fiction.

Picture gives an insider's look at the process of moviemaking that is astonishing in its revelations and intimacy. The book documents the conflict between the artistically-oriented filmmakers and the profit-oriented studio heads, and it offers great insight into the way a creative artist (Huston) works.

The magazine sold out, particularly in Hollywood, where the distribution department had not thought to send additional copies. Some

readers thought the book was a negative piece about Hollywood, but Huston and Reinhardt liked it.

Ross's Reporting Techniques

Ved Mehta, a writer who joined *The New Yorker* some years after Ross, wrote, "She had an unerring eye and ear, as if she were a walking camera and a walking tape recorder."[33]

James F. Fixx describes her style as "a manner of reporting that all but eliminates the reporter."[34]

Above all, Ross is a careful recorder of observations. "All I do is take a lot of notes," she has said. "And I listen. I think when people care about what they're doing or saying, it doesn't matter that you're taking notes."[35]

Ross's reporting has an intimacy. We get a look at people's private lives, or we see how something works behind the scenes. She gives us the insider's look at Ernest Hemingway's life *in Portrait of Hemingway* and at how people make a major studio motion picture in *Picture.* Tom Wolfe claims in his book on the New Journalism that he was impressed by the intimacy of conversations between Joe Louis and his wife that Gay Talese reported in *Esquire,*[36] but Ross was reporting intimate conversations between Hemingway and his wife years earlier.

Part of Ross's reporting method is to win the trust of people she is writing about. She admits that she usually has affection for her subjects and is sometimes friends with them. For instance, she was clearly on friendly terms with Hemingway and Huston when she wrote about them. She defends the practice, however, saying "I usually did not want to write about anyone I did not like."[37] She added, "Anyone who trusts you enough to talk about himself to you is giving you a form of friendship."[38]

Her reporting techniques sometimes verge on eavesdropping or overhearing conversations, and this undoubtedely helps provide some of the intimacy of her pieces. This is apparent throughout the Hemingway portrait and *Picture*; in "The Yellow Bus," her 1960 article on Indiana teenagers visiting New York;[39] and in her article on the first Newport Jazz Festival.[40] Ross has said she doesn't like having the term "fly on the wall" applied to her reporting, but in some ways it seems to fit.[41]

Unlike some other literary journalists, Ross does not believe in reconstructed or recreated scenes. She insists that the reporter must be present to record quotations. She has said, "A reconstructed quotation is not a fact; it is a pseudo-fact."[42] She also does not believe in using third person point of view, or attempting to tell the reader what the subjects of her pieces were thinking.[43]

Among the specific techniques Ross uses in her reporting are extensive dialogue, reporting in scenes, reporting nuances of speech, extended monologue, and reporting actions that are revealing.

A. Dialogue

Ross began using extensive dialogue early in her reporting career and it has remained one of her principle devices. In 1949, she followed Miss New York State, Wanda Nalepa, through the Miss America pageant. The following dialogue was reported when Nalepa was leaving home for the pageant:

"Well, goodbye," said Miss Nalepa.

"Don't forget to stand up straight," her sister said.

"What about breakfast?" her mother asked mildly.

"I don't feel like eating," Miss Nalepa said.

"Good luck, Wanda," said Teddy.

"Well, goodbye," Miss Nalepa said again, looking at her father.

"All right, all right, goodbye," her father said.[44]

The 1954 piece on the first Newport Jazz Festival was filled with dialogue. At one point, Dixieland jazz guitarist Eddie Condon, modern jazz saxophonist Gerry Mulligan, and festival organizer Marshall Stearns, are talking:

> "Never thought I'd see the day when you two would be playing together," Stearns said.
>
> "Well, I'm not exactly hysterical about kids playing saxophones bigger than they are," said Condon.
>
> "Anybody who still chooses to play a four-stringed instrument is practically prehistoric," said Mulligan.
>
> "We're all just one big happy family," said Stearns.[45]

A 1961 "Talk of the Town" piece about Robert Kennedy reported this exchange between Kennedy and a policeman:

> "Well, well, glad to see you again, sir," the policeman said, and the Attorney General shook hands with him through the window. "Haven't seen you since the electioneering days. Remember those days? It's a long time ago."
>
> "I certainly do," Mr. Kennedy said. "Nice to see you again."
>
> "You've got good color. Keep it up," the policeman said.
>
> "So have you," Mr. Kennedy said.
>
> "Mine is high blood pressure," the policeman said. "Sorry we've got such terrible hot weather for you here. Hope it won't bother you."
>
> "It won't. Thanks. Good luck," Mr. Kennedy said.[46]

In several cases, she took dialogue one step further by writing pieces of reporting in the form of a play script. For instance, an article "On Brecht on Brecht" was presented in two scenes and was made up entirely of dialogue. A section involving actors Michael Wager, Viveca Lindfors, and Anne Jackson read like this:

> Wager: My daughter is going to Israel in June to visit my father and mother, and I want to go with her.
>
> Lindfors: Annie, if I go with George to Fire Island this month, will you do my Jewish-wife scene?
>
> Jackson: Does that mean I won't get my vacation with Eli (Wallach, her husband)? Do you think that is right? Do you think that is fair? Do you think that is just?[47]

B. Nuances of Speech

Ross didn't just write dialogue. She preserved the intricacies of casual, spontaneous speech. She appears to have been fascinated with variations in speech and had an ability to capture them on paper.

The Hemingway profile included sentences from Hemingway ("You want to go with me to buy coat?")[48] that some have described as baby talk and others described as Indian talk. The Miss America pageant piece told of Miss America having no time for dates and Miss Florida reacting with, "Mah goodness, no dates!"[49] In an article on French singer Charles Aznavour, Ross quotes his fractured English: "I like very much the Village."[50]

"The Yellow Bus," her piece on a group of Indiana teenagers visiting New York in 1960, included question marks at the end of their statements to reflect the intonation ("I took this filet de sole? When I wanted somethin' else, I don't know what?" Mike said.[51]). The question marks were also used in

recent "Talk" pieces Ross has written about teenagers.[52] Question marks at the end of statements also showed up in a *Rolling Stone* piece on teenagers in 1999 by a different author,[53] suggesting either that Ross had perceptive insight into teenage speech or that her writing has influenced the writing of others.

C. Using scenes to tell a story

Ross developed a technique of writing that largely avoided conventional exposition and told the story through scenes. This device contributes greatly to the readability and intimacy of her articles. The technique was apparent as early as 1949 in the piece on the Miss America pageant.[54] It is very clear in *Picture,* a book-length work which is made up almost entirely of scenes.[55]

Ross's "Portrait of Hemingway" also consists almost exclusively of scenes. It is made up of an introductory paragraph and eight scenes that might be described as follows:

1. At the airport.
2. In the cab to the hotel.
3. In the hotel room with Marlene Dietrich.
4. The next morning in the hotel room.
5. Shopping at Abercrombie & Fitch.
6. The following morning in the hotel room.
7. Visiting the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
8. In the hotel room with Charles Scribner.

Ross was not the first non-fiction writer to put an article together entirely with scenes and dialogue. W. C. Heinz used these techniques in a story telling how boxer Rocky Graziano's spent the day before a middleweight title fight.[56] Morris Markey also used scenes and dialogue in pieces in *The*

New Yorker as early as 1931.[57] But Ross used them extensively and with great skill to create some pieces that have been widely acknowledged as major works of journalism.

D. Extended monologue

Ross also used the extended monologue, a technique in which the interviewee is allowed to go on for paragraphs or pages. This is apparent in a "Talk of the Town" piece about playwright Jack Gelber[58] and another about beat generation coffeehouses.[59] These extended monologues are similar to reporting done in the mid-1800s by Henry Mayhew, a writer whom Ross has acknowledged as an important predecessor,[60] in articles such as his piece on the Watercress girl.[61]

E. Revealing Actions

Ross also reported on specific actions taken by people she was writing about, often in a way that was revealing of character or emotional state. Her stories are not just a lot of talk in the form of dialogue — there is also action. Her articles describe people moving about and doing things.

For instance, in "Portrait of Hemingway," Hemingway and Ross are on the sidewalk outside his hotel when a flock of pigeons flies by. Ross writes, "He stopped, looked up, and aimed an imaginary rifle at them. He pulled the trigger, and then look disappointed. 'Very difficult shot,' he said."[62] The incident probably reveals several things: Hemingway's interest in hunting, his nonconformity and lack of concern about looking odd or out-of-place, the contrast between him and most New Yorkers, and perhaps his intent to show his masculinity.

In *Picture*, Ross describes former war hero and actor Audie Murphy this way: "Murphy listened, shifting his bayonet from hand to hand, and then, in one of his rare talkative moments, said that the psychology in all wars was the same . . . ."[63] The passage suggests that Murphy is comfortable with weapons, that he is restless or impatient (perhaps with the slow process of making movies), and that he may have some bottled-up aggression (he was the most-decorated infantryman in World War II).

Pioneer of Literary Journalism

Although Ross's contributions to literary journalism are sometimes overlooked, she made extensive use of several techniques later claimed as part of the New Journalism — particularly the use of dialogue, the technique of telling a story through scenes, and the use of a dramatic structure much like a novel.

Tom Wolfe identified four techniques as defining the New Journalism: 1. Dialogue in full. 2. Scene-by-scene construction. 3. Third person point of view. 4. Details symbolic of status life.[64]

Ross has made substantial use of two of Wolfe's four techniques — scenes and dialogue — although Wolfe does not mention her when he is discussing them.

Ross paid less attention to Wolfe's other two defining techniques. She did not approve of taking the subject's point of view,[65] and by and large did not report people's thoughts and feelings as if she knew them. She has stated, "Contrary to what some writers believe today, what is inside another person's head is 'unreportable.' The closest a reporter can come is to tell what a person *says* he thinks or feels, or thought or felt."[66]

She may have used some status details, but this technique is not as prominent in her work as the first two.

Wolfe dates his discovery of the use of dialogue in factual reporting to the fall of 1962.[67] Wolfe said he was reading Gay Talese's article in *Esquire* about Joe Louis and he was struck by the beginning, which quoted dialogue between Louis and his wife right after Louis got off an airplane. Wolfe writes as if he was seeing something completely new.

But Ross was clearly using dialogue in the Miss America piece in 1949, in the Hemingway portrait in 1950, in *Picture* in 1952, in "The Yellow Bus" in 1960, and in many other articles.

Wolfe also chose not to include anything by Ross in his *The New Journalism* anthology, although he did mention her in the introductory essays. Part of the explanation may be that Wolfe did not have a very high opinion of *New Yorker* writers. He wrote a two-part article making fun of the publication that appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*'s Sunday magazine section in April of 1965. The first part, called "Tiny Mummies! The True Story of the Ruler of 43rd Street's Land of the Walking Dead!," was a satiric attack on William Shawn, editor of *The New Yorker*. The second piece, titled "Lost in the Whicky Thicket," portrayed the magazine as dull and predictable. Interestingly, *The New Yorker* had run a piece parodying Wolfe's style a month before "Tiny Mummies" appeared.[68] The parody was an unsigned "Talk of the Town" piece, but it seems quite likely that it was written by Lillian Ross.[69]

Ross also used the structure of a novel and a dramatic story line with factual material in the book *Picture* years before Truman Capote published *In Cold Blood*. Ben Yagoda comments in the *book The Art of Fact* that it was two decades after John Hersey's *Hiroshima* before another writer, Capote, wrote a

book of journalism in the form of a novel.[70] But this overlooks Ross's *Picture*, published 13 years before *In Cold Blood*.

Ross's writing, particularly in the book *Picture*, clearly had an influence on Capote when he was writing *In Cold Blood*.

Capote biographer Gerald Clarke said Capote "was encouraged, if not inspired, in his effort by the example of Lillian Ross, who pioneered the technique in two earlier, much-celebrated *New Yorker* pieces, 'Portrait of Hemingway' and *Picture*, her narrative of the making of John Huston's film The Red Badge of Courage."[71] Capote himself said, "Several admirable reporters — Rebecca West for one, Joseph Mitchell and Lillian Ross — have shown the possibilities of narrative reportage; and Miss Ross, in her brilliant *Picture*, achieved at least a nonfiction novella."[72]

Ross first met Capote shortly after *Picture* was published (at a party at Charlie Chaplin's home in Hollywood, not, as one might expect, in *The New Yorker* offices in New York). Capote questioned her about the techniques of reporting she used in *Picture*, including how extensively she took notes, how much she left out, and so forth. Ross has said, "I tried to explain to Capote that the techniques were irrelevant. The key elements, I told him, were the characters, their interaction with one another, and the background and dramatic developments in their situation."[73]

Ross herself has stated that "fictional 'devices' have been used in reporting for centuries — this is not a recent 'invention'."[74]

Evolution of the Ross Approach

Ross began reporting in a more conventional style and came around later to her trademark techniques of extensive use of dialogue and assembling an article from scenes.

Her first bylined article in *The New Yorker* traced the history of Kaiser Wilhelm's yacht from the day its keel was laid in 1901 in a shipyard near New York to the day in 1946 when it sat in a boat dock awaiting demolition.[75] The piece contains no dialogue or scenes and is mostly made up of conventional exposition, appearing to be based largely upon newspaper articles and other printed sources.

The article on Franklin, the bullfighter from Brooklyn, which was published in March of 1949, is also made up largely of exposition. For instance, we are informed that "Franklin gets along well with Mexicans and Spaniards"[76] and "Franklin enjoys doing things for his family."[77] With her later approach to reporting, Ross might have been inclined to report actions and dialogue that would make these points.

The Franklin piece does contain a few scenes, such as an exchange between Franklin and a psychiatrist as they are watching a bullfight, and these are some of the most vivid sections of the article.

The Miss America pageant story, published in October of 1949 — seven months after the Franklin profile — shows Ross moving toward more of a scene-by-scene approach. The reader is presented with scenes at Miss New York State's home before she leaves for the contest, in the fitting room where contestants were putting on their bathing suits, and at a gathering in Miss Arizona's hotel room.

In the following year, in the profile of Hemingway, Ross completed the move to her more innovative and characteristic approach that depended on a heavy use of dialogue and scenes.

Prose that Eviscerates?

One of the most unusual aspects of Ross's writing career has been the tendency for some commentators to characterize her writings as "devastating" or "eviscerating." A reviewer for the *Library Journal* commented that "Miss Ross's skillful reportorial technique can, of course, be devastating."[78] And Tom Wolfe called her profile of Hemingway an "evisceration."[79] *Picture* was also criticized for presenting the blemishes and failings of its subjects.[80] At the same time they were being criticized by some, however, these articles were often praised by the people they portrayed.

Ross commented later on the controversy over the Hemingway profile, "But people have a way of using facts to make whatever they want to make of them. And then there are preconceptions people have about the way a great writer should be. It's the way people go around judging each other, instead of accepting people the way they are."[81]

Ross has also made clear her admiration for Hemingway:

> I like him exactly as he was; I did not think he was a 'tiresome man' (I thought he was a fascinating and exhilarating man); I did not think he was a 'show-off' (thought he was marvelously exuberant and blessed with the spirit of fun); and I did not feel called upon . . . to pass final judgment on which of Hemingway's works were genuine and which were parody (I merely felt grateful for whatever joy his writing had given me).[82]

On the other hand, there is little doubt that some subjects that Ross writes about do not appear in the most favorable light.

For instance, it is difficult to believe Sidney Franklin, the matador from Brooklyn, after reading this section: "Once, when he was working on the ranch in Mexico, a peon accidentally chopped off two of his own toes.

Franklin claims that he sewed them back on with an ordinary needle and thread."[83]

Franklin presents himself in the profile as being capable of anything. But Ross points out that he built a dog house that a dog wouldn't stay in.

Franklin also appears absurd when he repeatedly talks of "nobless oblige" as the explanation for his actions and his overall excellence. "I was destined to shine," he adds. "It was a matter of noblesse oblige."[84]

Even in the profile of Hemingway, whom Ross liked, she reported that he wore "a brown tweed jacket tight across the back and with sleeves too short for his arms."[85]

Ross's approach, in these instances, might be described as "string them up by their own words" journalism. Some might characterize it as a method in which you "give them enough rope and they will hang themselves."

She seems to have followed the advice that Hemingway once gave her about writing: "Just call them the way you see them and the hell with it."[86]

Ross has acknowledged that she has a point of view and that it comes through in her writing: "What I tried to do . . . was make my point of view implicit in the facts and quotes I used."[87]

Conclusions

Lillian Ross has contributed a significant body of journalism writing, including such widely-recognized pieces as "Portrait of Hemingway" and *Picture,* as well as numerous other pieces for *The New Yorker,* many of which have been collected in books. Her "The Yellow Bus" was published in a collection of outstanding essays[88] and her "You Dig It, Sir," the Newport Jazz Festival piece, was selected for a collection of jazz writing.[89]

In these works and others, Ross was able to use her trademark techniques of dialogue and scene-by-scene reporting to provide much more intimate accounts — both of well-known people and ordinary people — than readers were used to reading.

But the power of Ross's writing stems from something in addition to reporting scenes and dialogue with great accuracy. Ross also had a keen ability to select the best actions and dialogue and put them together in such a way as to tell a story that is emotionally moving. This is the part of Ross's craft that tends to be overlooked and that approaches an art. She selects scenes, revealing dialogue, and gestures and action that add up to portraits. In the hands of writers who are not so skillful, pages of dialogue can be extremely boring. Ross is able to select dialogue that is amusing, well-phrased, or dramatic, and which moves the story along.

Ross's approach to reporting does have its limitations. The reporter needs to be present at the scene while events are taking place. Ross also has tended to write about people who are friends of hers and give her an exceptional degree of reporter access. This approach is obviously more suitable for profiles and features than hard news or investigative pieces.

Ross is important because of her contribution to the craft of reporting and because of her role as an innovator in journalistic techniques. She pioneered in the use of several of the methods commonly identified with literary journalism and she influenced other well-known writers in that field, such as Truman Capote.

Ross's scrupulous devotion to accuracy could serve as a model for many writers practicing literary journalism today. She did not use, and did not approve of, reconstructing scenes after the fact or attempting to report on people's thoughts and feelings (sometimes called third person point of view).

As reviewer James F. Fixx has noted, Ross's work (in particular, the book *Reporting*) could be recommended to any reporter interested in a postgraduate course in the craft.[90]

R. Thomas Berner says that Ross "perhaps more than any other writer could stand as a model for good reporting in the second half of the twentieth century."[91]

Lillian Ross deserves a place in the list of major innovators in literary journalism. In her "Portrait of Hemingway," she moved beyond a profile to a highly intimate account — a true portrait. She has used her innovative reporting methods to take readers places they have never been before and show them things they have never seen — the very definition of a good reporter.

[1] Ross left *The New Yorker* in 1987 when William Shawn was fired as editor, but she returned to the magazine some time later.
[2] Lillian Ross, "How Do You Like It Now, Gentlemen?" *The New Yorker*, May 13, 1950, 36-62; published as *Portrait of Hemingway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961); included in an expanded form in Lillian Ross, *Reporting* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), 187-222.
[3] Lillian Ross, "Picture," in Ross, *Reporting*, 223-242.
[4] Lillian Ross, "Halloween Party," in Maureen Howard, ed., *The Penguin Book of Contemporary Essays* (New York: Viking, 1984), 40-43; Lillian Ross, "The Yellow Bus," in James D. Lester, ed., *Of Bunsen Burners, Bones, and Belles Lettres: Classic Essays across the Curriculum* (Lincolnwood, Il.: NTC/Contemporary Publishing Co., 1995); Lillian Ross, "You Dig It, Sir?" in Robert Gottlieb, ed., *Reading Jazz: A Gathering of Autobiography, Reportage, and Criticism from 1919 to Now.* (New York: Pantheon books, 1996), 686-700.
[5] Lillian Ross, *Picture* (New York: Rinehart, 1952).
[6] Ross, *Reporting*.
[7] http://augustachronicle.com/stories/030399/fea_124-6154.shtml
[8] Lillian Ross, *Picture* (New York: The Modern Library, 1997).
[9] Lillian Ross, *Here But Not Here: A Love Story* (New York: Random House, 1998).
[10] Lillian Ross, "Slow burn at a private-school mixer," *The New Yorker*, February 22 & March 1, 1999, 46-47.
[11] Lillian Ross, "How the Friars Club turned its annual roast into a PG occasion," *The New Yorker*, October 18 & 25, 1999, 82-86.
[12] Tom Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
[13] Ben Yagoda, "From In Cold Blood," in Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, The Art of Fact (New York: Scribner, 1997), 161.
[14] Ross, *Here But Not Here*.
[15] Ross, *Here But Not Here*.
[16] Lillian Ross, "Where Are They Now? The Kaiser's Yacht," *The New Yorker*, June 22, 1946, 66-78.
[17] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 21.
[18] "Amazon.com talks to Lillian Ross," Online. Available at: http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/show-interview/r-l-ossillian/102.5932361-8974464
[19] Joseph Mitchell, *Up in the Old Hotel and Other Stories* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).
[20] Mitchell, *Up in the Old Hotel and Other Stories*.
[21] Lillian Ross, *Takes: Stories from The Talk of the Town* (New York: Congdon & Weed, 1983).
[22] Ross, *Takes*, 6.
[23] Lillian Ross, "El Unico Matador," in Lillian Ross, *Reporting* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964), 143-186.
[24] Lillian Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*.
[25] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 25. Much of Ross's writing for *The New Yorker* has been reprinted in books. Citations in this paper are generally to those books.
[26] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 47.
[27] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 61.
[28] Kevin Kerrane, "Media circus: Martha's Quest." Salon. March 12, 1998. Online. Available at: http://www.salon.com/media/1998/03/12media.html
[29] James Thurber, *The Years with Ross* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1957), 294.
[30] Ross, *Here But Not Here: A Love Story*, 90-91.
[31] The first part was "No. 1512: Throw the Little Old Lady Down the Stairs!" *The New Yorker*, May 24, 1952, 32-77.
[32] Ross, *Picture* (1952).

[33] Ved Mehta, *Remembering Mr. Shawn's New Yorker* (Woodstock: The Overlook Press, 1998), 99.
[34] James F. Fixx, "Postgraduate Course," *Saturday Review*, March 14, 1964, p. 133.
[35] "Authors: 'I Take a Lot of Notes'," *Newsweek*, Dec. 18, 1961, 102.
[36] Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 11.
[37] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 173.
[38] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 173.
[39] Lillian Ross, "The Yellow Bus," in Lillian Ross, *Reporting* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964), 11-30.
[40] Lillian Ross, "You Dig It, Sir?" in Robert Gottlieb, ed., *Reading Jazz: A Gathering of Autobiography, Reportage, and Criticism from 1919 to Now.* (New York: Pantheon books, 1996), 686-700.
[41] Ross, *Here But Not Here: A Love Story*, 103.
[42] Ross, *Takes*, 4.
[43] Ross, *Takes*, 4.
[44] Lillian Ross, "Symbol of All We Possess," in Lillian Ross, *Reporting* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964), 33.
[45] Ross, "You Dig It, Sir?" 697.
[46] Lillian Ross, "The Attorney General," in Lillian Ross, *Talk Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 97.
[47] Lillian Ross, "On Brecht on Brecht," in Lillian Ross, *Talk Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 130.
[48] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 29.
[49] Ross, "Symbol of All We Possess," 43.
[50] Lillian Ross, "The Face of Anybody," in Lillian Ross, *Talk Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 157.
[51] Lillian Ross, "The Yellow Bus," in *Reporting*, 15.
[52] Lillian Ross, "The Shit-Kickers of Madison Avenue," *The New Yorker*, February 20 & 27, 1995, 82-84; Ross, "Slow burn at a private-school mixer."
[53] Jancee Dunn, "Girls," *Rolling Stone*, Nov. 11, 1999, 106-121.
[54] Ross, "Symbol of All We Possess."
[55] Ross, *Picture*.
[56] W. C. Heinz, "The Day of the Fight," in Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, *The Art of Fact* (New York: Scribner, 1997), 115-128.
[57] Morris Marke, "Drift," in Kerrane and Yagoda, *The Art of Fact*, 93-96.
[58] Lillian Ross, "Gelber," in Lillian Ross, *Talk Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 22-26.
[59] Lillian Ross, "Life Line," in Lillian Ross, *Talk Stories* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 30-34.
[60] Ross, *Takes*, p. 6.
[61] Henry Mayhew, "Watercress Girl," in Kerrane and Yagoda, *The Art of Fact*, 34-37.
[62] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 49.
[63] Ross, "Picture," 314.
[64] Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 31-33.
[65] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 114.
[66] Ross, *Takes*, 10.
[67] Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 10-11.
[68] "Red Mittens!" *The New Yorker*, March 6, 1965, 32-33.
[69] Wolfe, in an interview with Elaine Dundy, refers to a parody of him in *The New Yorker* by Lillian Ross. Elaine Dundy, "Tom Wolfe . . . But Exactly, Yes!" in Dorothy M. Scura, ed., *Conversations with Tom Wolfe* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 13.
[70] Yagoda, "From In Cold Blood," 161.

[71] Gerald Clarke, *Capote: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 294.
[72] George Plimpton, *Truman Capote: In which various friends, enemies, acquaintances, and detractors recall his turbulent career* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 197.
[73] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 114.
[74] Ross, *Takes*, 10.
[75] Ross, "Where Are They Now?"
[76] Ross, "El Unico Matador," 148.
[77] Ross, "El Unico Matador," 170.
[78] John C. Pine, review of *Reporting*, *Library Journal*, March, 1964, 1090.
[79] Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 46.
[80] Arthur Knight, "Battle-orders in Beverly Hills," *Saturday Review*, Nov. 29, 1952, 34.
[81] "Authors: 'I Take a Lot of Notes'," 102.
[82] Lillian Ross, "The Hemingway Profile," *The New Republic*, August 7, 1961, pp. 30-31.
[83] Ross, "El Unico Matador," 153.
[84] Ross, "El Unico Matador," 146.
[85] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 24.
[86] Lillian Ross, "Hemingway Told Me Things," *The New Yorker*, May 24, 1999, 70.
[87] Ross, *Here But Not Here*, 61.
[88] James D. Lester, ed., *Of Bunsen Burners, Bones, and Belles Lettres: Classic Essays across the Curriculum* (Lincolnwood, Il.: NTC/Contemporary Publishing Co., 1995).
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